Daily Report

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Agenda for Group of Seven's Paris Summit Viewed
LD1407213189 Moscow TASS in English 2034 GMT 14 Jul 89

[By TASS correspondents Nikita Yermakov and Aleksandr Sorokin]

[Text] Paris July 14 TASS—The 15th summit of the seven most developed capitalist countries [Group of Seven] began in the Louvre pyramid today, with the leaders of Britain, Italy, Canada, the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan as well as a delegation of the commission of the European Communities taking part. The summit will continue for three days.

Such summits have been held on the French initiative every year since 1975. Originally, economic issues were primarily brought up for discussion.

Officially the agenda of this summit also includes key financial and economic issues and first of all the foreign debt problem of the developing countries.

The seven leaders, who first began to give serious thought to the debt issue at a similar meeting in Toronto last year, will seek to find answers to the delicate questions of how to secure that lenders, first of all big American private banks, could continue to get the interest on debt paid back and in so doing not to finally ruin the debtor countries and not to bring them to a social outburst, to keep them within their orbit and retain the current financial and economic order.

Judging by the data of the French organisers of the summit, one of the main lines of activity in this regard may be to spread the practice of cancelling the debts of the least developed countries, first of all African ones, through state channels. However, settling debts to private banks is a separate issue.

A certain atmosphere in the run-up to the summit was created by the initiative of the leaders of Venezuela, Egypt, India, and Senegal who on Thursday [13 July] called for holding a North-South summit conference as soon as possible to discuss a number of key problems, economic ones, in the first place.

Their opinion is that this must serve as a beginning of regular consultations between the industrially developing and developed countries.

France and Canada have already conveyed their endorsement of the initiative while the United States and Britain have not supported it so far.

Along with the foreign debt problem, the leaders of the [group of] seven are to touch upon trade and other imbalances between leading capitalist countries and on the emergence of a trend to mounting rates of inflation.

Ecological issues are the second official subject for discussion: the warming of the atmosphere ('greenhouse effect'), the dwindling of area under forests, oceanic pollution, and toxic wastes of production.

Just as is the case with regard to the package of financial and economic problems, the summit seven have no unity over this subject either, specifically in their approaches to the elaboration of a system to monitor environmental protection, aid to the developing countries, and the promotion of ecologically clean production.

France suggests founding an international environmental protection agency, whereas the United States and Britain so far reject this initiative.

The leaders of the capitalist world are not in an ecological fever at all, L'HUMANITE wrote on Friday. The newspaper's opinion is that in this field the seven set three tasks before themselves: to launch large-scale ecological work which could develop into new markets for multilateral corporations, to impose their own production standards, which the national industry of the developing countries will not be able to meet so far, upon all countries, and to create supra-national bodies to regulate environmental protection to the detriment of national programs.

The summit will not limit itself to the discussion of economic and ecological issues. Much attention at the summit will be devoted to political problems and first of all to East-West relations and to changes taking place in socialist countries.

There is much less information on this subject, although the press does state the existence of certain differences in approaches to future relationships with the East among the leaders of major capitalist countries.

The summit seven intend to coordinate their policies with regard to Eastern Europe following a series of visits to Western capitals by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and tours of European socialist countries by some leaders of capitalist states.

The Western governments have reached agreement in principle on the need to support the economic revitalisation of Eastern Europe. The seven now intend to furnish a political basis for this policy, the American newspaper INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE published in Paris wrote on Friday.

Summit Discussions Highlighted
LD1407223389 Moscow TASS in English 2209 GMT 14 Jul 89

[By TASS correspondent Nikita Yermakov]

[Text] Paris July 15 TASS—Talks between the foreign and finance ministers of the seven leading capitalist countries began in the French capital on Friday simultaneously with the first session of the seven summit.

The summit is being attended by the leaders of Britain, Italy, Canada, the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan as well as by a delegation of the Commission of the European Communities.

The foreign ministers met in the Paris international conference centre to prepare the summit's draft resolutions which will be referred to the leaders of delegations on Saturday [15 July] for endorsement.

The foreign ministers devoted main attention to East-West relations and to the situation in China.

In an interview with the France Press News Agency, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said the elaboration of the West's approach to relations with socialist countries was one of the major political subjects at the summit. He said the United States favoured coordinated efforts in support of the process of reforms in socialist countries.

Besides, according to French sources, a draft resolution on terrorism is under discussion. A France-suggested document on human rights encountered Britain's resistance and in general it may so happen that it will not be adopted.

During the Friday meeting the seven foreign ministers also examined other international issues, specifically, the situation in the Middle East and in Lebanon.

The finance ministers of the seven gathered for a separate meeting in the new building of the French Ministry of Economics, Finance and Budget. They brought up for discussion first of all the foreign debt issue as well as the economic situation in the world, Western countries' cooperation in the field of the currency policy, and ways to eliminate trade and other imbalances between partners.

Public statements by the participants in the current meeting of the seven are so far focussed predominantly on the call issued by the leaders of Venezuela, Egypt, India, and Senegal on Thursday [13 July] to convene a North-South summit conference to discuss economic issues.

If such a conference is not held soon, the situation may become sharply aggravated, said Egyptian President Husni Mubarak who is attending the festivities marking the bicentenary of the Great French Revolution.

He intends to begin preparatory consultations with the leaders of the developing countries. Experts from a number of Latin American and African countries will arrive in Cairo at the end of July.

The American and British delegations so far regard the idea in a reserved manner. Baker voiced an opinion that the holding of a North-South summit may divert attention from the essence of the problem and would politicise the approach to it. He considers it preferable to have separate contacts with each debtor country.

The British delegation refers to the official stand of London which opposes new forums for discussing the debt issue.

France, which has officially supported the 'initiative of the four' intends to try to pursuade the partners for the seven into agreeing to a North-South summit.

We do not lose hope, said Roland Dumas, French minister of state and minister of foreign affairs.

Following Canada, the idea of a North-South summit was endorsed by Italy. According to Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, Rome favourably evaluates the principle of a North-South summit conference.

Leaders Target Economy, Pollution

LD1707095789 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] The annual summit meeting of the seven most developed capitalist countries [Group of Seven—G-7] ended in Paris yesterday. In their final document the leaders of Great Britain, Italy, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, Canada and Japan called for continuing efforts to improve the state of the world economy and finances. They also stressed the need for urgent measures to stop the further pollution of the environment. A Radio Moscow correspondent says those points can only be welcomed. As for certain aspects of East-West relations the stand of the leaders of the seven can hardly be described as positive. They declaration asserts that in the foreseeable future the Western countries have no other alternative than continuing to adhere to the strategy of deterrence and they say it should be based on combining effective nuclear and conventional arms.

Reshetov Views U.S. Psychiatrists' Report

LD1407050989 Moscow TASS in English 0429 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 13 TASS—Contacts between Soviet and U.S. psychiatrists are shaping into a professional dialogue, according to a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, who was asked to comment a report of a group of U.S. psychiatric experts on the state of psychiatric care in the Soviet Union at a news briefing here today.

Yuriy Reshetov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Humanitarian and Human Rights Department, said the Soviet side thinks the report is interesting and could lead to further contacts.

The report was issued after a group of U.S. doctors visited a number of Soviet institutions to examine the state of Soviet psychiatric care from February 26 to March 12, Americans visited several clinics in different parts of the Soviet Union, met with patients and studied their medical records.

The Soviet spokesman said the report describes the visit as an evidence of important changes in the Soviet Union. The U.S. doctors also described as unprecedented the opportunity to examine patients of their choosing and visit several Soviet mental institutions.

Speaking about the medical part of the report, Reshetov said that Soviet doctors' diagnoses mostly coincided with those of their American counterparts as regards hospitalised patients, but there were differences in diagnosing some outpatients.

The report's conclusions point to the need to improve the diagnosing of psychiatric disorders, Reshetov said.

Soviet psychiatrists believe that the critical remarks of the U.S. side largely coincide with their own concern over the organisation of involuntary hospitalisation of mental patients in the Soviet Union.

Yuriy Reshetov described changes in the registering of mental patients in the USSR. He said 734,000 people were dropped from psychiatric record lists in 1988.

There are no people in the Soviet Union who have been committed to psychiatric hospitals because of someone's political will, Reshetov stressed.

The results of the U.S. team's visit point to the broadening of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in psychiatry, the Soviet diplomat said.

Asked to provide additional information about the fate of Raul Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat who saved thousands of Jews during the Second World War, Reshetov said that the Soviet authorities have already provided all they knew about the man. The Soviet spokesman praised Wallenberg as a great humanist.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, also spoke of respect the Soviet people feel for Wallenberg.

Editorial Views Commitment to 'European Home'

PM1407172589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Common Cause of the Peoples: Europe Capable of Giving Fitting Reply to Challenge of Times"]

[Text] The determination of the peace-loving states and peoples to end the long period of enmity and distrust and begin a fundamentally new stage in the development of international relations is producing beneficial new ideas and constructive initiatives. They include the concept of the common European home, which is becoming increasingly firmly established in the modern political vocabulary.

There have been many glorious pages in the annals of European history. The works created by great Europeans are immortal. But equally endless is the list of bloody wars, armed conflicts, and civil strife which have erupted on European soil and drawn other continents into their orbit. The time urgently demands that the lessons of the past be learned. The cradle of European and world civilization must accept the challenge of the new era. Not a "theater of military operations" but a united and peaceful Europe, created by the joint efforts of all interested countries and peoples—that is how it is seen by those who are committed to the cause of mutual understanding and cooperation.

This is not the first year that far-sighted intellects have been working to ensure that the continent embarks firmly on the path of mutual understanding and agreement. Europe has not known the horrors of war for almost 45 years now. It is the birthplace of the Helsinki process, whose good fruit is now being reaped and which the peoples of Asia and other parts of the world are watching attentively.

It was on Europe's soil that the most humane appeal—to exclude nuclear war from mankind's life—was born. Everyone now sees that this is a real possibility. The entry into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles marked the beginning of the period of nuclear disarmament. European capitals and other cities have become venues of intensive talks on the reduction of Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive armaments, nuclear and space armaments, conventional armaments and armed forces, and the banning of chemical weapons, talks on human rights, and other humanitarian problems. In brief, joint work is creating the preconditions for a new and even more major and radical step forward, toward the building of the common European home. It is a practical discussion on a restructuring of the existing international order in Europe which would bring common European values to the forefront and replace the traditional balance of forces by a balance of interests of the states and peoples.

Recent talks among European states' leaders and forums of various social organizations have touched on questions relating to the architecture of that home, ways of building it, and even its fittings. But of course only the basic outline of the future building has been delineated so far.

Questions of security are paramount. The concept of the common European home precludes the very possibility of the use or threat of force, primarily military force—alliance against alliance, within alliances, wherever it may be. The very logic of European development suggests that the doctrine of nuclear deterrence should be countered by the doctrine of military-political restraint.

To free Europe of strategic, tactical, and all other kinds of nuclear weapons and chemical armaments, to implement a radical reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, to completely remove all foreign troops

from other countries' territory, to eliminate military blocs, not to allow the creation of space weapons in any form, and to establish effective verification of all disarmament treaties and agreements—those are the principles of security which the Soviet Union urges be built into the foundation of the common European home. These principles were given further validation and development in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Strasbourg.

Of course, the building of a common home for all Europeans is a major, complex experiment. But its idea is based on European traditions and the realities of the new era. The vital interests of all participants in the European process, including, of course, the United States and Canada, demand that it be implemented.

The very logic of the European process predetermines the repudiation of the stereotypes of the past, particularly the "enemy image," and the elimination of military bloc confrontation. The system of military-political blocs created during the cold war years is becoming obsolete. The time has come to remove relations between the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Alliance from the course of confrontation onto the path of constructive dialogue. That is the basis of the actions of the Warsaw Pact member states, which have advocated on numerous occasions that the military organizations of the Warsaw Pact and NATO be eliminated first because they regard this as the first step on the road toward the disbandment on both military alliances.

Following a well-regulated course of peace, the participants in the routine conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest stated that they attach paramount significance to the development of the all-European process in all spheres, the establishment of a new level of security and cooperation on the continent, and progress along the path of building an indivisible Europe, lasting peace and cooperation, and the common European home with the diversity of the countries' social and state systems, respect of the prevailing territorial and political realities, inviolability of the existing borders, sovereignty, and the right of each people to freely determine their own destiny.

In seeking to set a good example, the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries are unilaterally and in practice reducing their armed forces and armaments, altering their structure and combat composition in accordance with the defense doctrine of reasonable sufficiency, and cutting defense spending. They expect the NATO countries for their part to take steps in response.

The all-European process is a reality. Despite the obvious difficulties which appear in any new venture it is advancing. The Soviet Union, the initiator of the creation of the common European home, is deeply committed to this constructive undertaking. For us the struggle for a lasting European and world peace is not a tactical ploy or a concession to anyone. The Congress of USSR People's Deputies stated before the whole world: The Soviet land's foreign policy course, based on the new thinking, is fundamental and permanent in character. The CPSU and the Soviet state are unswervingly determined to follow this strategic course.

Weekly 'Observers Roundtable' on Pact Meeting

LD1607194889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 16 Jul 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program presented by Commentator Gennadiy Vedenyapin, with Boris Vasiliyevich Andrianov, all-union radio foreign affairs commentator, and Rudolf Georgiyevich Kolchanov, deputy chief editor of TRUD]

[Text] [Vedenyapin] This week the world press has been extensively discussing the results of the last conference of the Political Consultative Committee [PCC] of the participant states of the Warsaw Pact. I would say that on the whole a positive evaluation has been given to the results of this meeting in Bucharest. Judging by the statements of western politicians and newspaper commentaries, the documents adopted in the Romanian capital were described as evidence of a rapprochement of conceptions of East and West on the issues of the future of the European continent, on disarmament problems and as a basis for them to conclude new accords. I want to remark that the practical value of the ideas and initiatives proposed in Bucharest for further improving the situation on the continent was emphasized.

[Andrianov] The Bucharest conference may quite justifiably be described as a new stage on the path of improving international relations, not only in Europe but in the world as a whole. After all, the participant states of the Warsaw Pact advocated ensuring stability and security on our continent and establishing a new type of relations—relations based on overcoming confrontation, on consolidating trust and goodneighborliness. Those taking part in this meeting underlined the importance of developing wide-ranging, equal, and mutually advantageous cooperation in the most varied fields. Moreover they underlined the necessity of all countries and people taking part in solving the urgent problems of our continent.

[Kolchanov] I would like to draw attention to something which, in my opinion, was perhaps reflected to a lesser degree in the newspaper commentaries. What do I mean? I mean the new quality which was demonstrated at the conference in Bucharest, the new quality of a community of positions and approaches of the allied states which is inherent in the present stage of renewal of socialism.

It is no secret that today national characteristics of development are extremely pronounced. In some socialist countries the processes of restructuring have already gone a good distance, having radically changed the economy and the political system. But in other countries life does not demand excessively abrupt changes. And there these processes are less evident and less palpable.

And nevertheless the results of the Bucharest conference of the Political Consultative Committee showed that, as before, the allies' objective aspiration to coordinate their actions and develop a general course on global and European problems remains great. They are striving to work out a general position with regard to the West and NATO concerning economics, ecology, and international cooperation.

[Vedenyapin] Proceeding from the fact that the differences between individual states or groupings should not hinder mutual understanding and interaction, the participant states of the Warsaw Pact noted how important it is that the processes taking place in various parts of the continent assist the development of interstate relations both on a bilateral and a multilateral and pan-European basis.

Perhaps the fact that the importance of increasing mutually advantageous economic and scientific and technical cooperation was emphasized at the conference merits attention. The particular acuteness of the issue of the development and deepening of cooperation for resolving the ecological problems, which now disturb everyone, was noted.

[Kolchanov] I think one should also underline the fact that, at a crucial point in international development, our allied socialist states discussed the major directions of interaction in the interests of peace and stability in Europe: the problem of disarmament, deepening international dialogue, and equal cooperation. In other words the fundamental directions were chosen, the most urgent, and perhaps the most important points at the present stage.

[Andrianov] One should also perhaps, pay attention to the fact that those participating in the Bucharest meeting described broadening interaction in the humanitarian field as an inalienable part of the efforts directed toward improving the situation in Europe. They spoke in favor of facilitating communications between people, developing cooperation in the sphere of exchanging and propagating information, and encouraging cooperation and exchange in culture and education. They stressed that one of the basic preconditions for securing peace and cooperation in Europe is the realization in every country of the sum total of human rights and basic freedoms. Here I think it should be added that wholly included in this is a guarantee of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights with their complete interdependence.

[Vedenyapin] I would like to return to a problem we have already touched on. The variety of approaches and opinions of various allied countries that has grown up and the greater democracy current more open discussion in no way become a break on working out collective documents. On the contrary, this has made it possible to enrich their contents and top them up with new elements, which, moreover, contain very important points. As a result they are more realistic and constructive, which in turn has made it possible to improve the prospects of achieving accord at the forthcoming negotiations with the Western partners. In a word, the results of the Bucharest conference have convincingly shown that the specific nature and differences in the internal life of the socialist allied states do not hide the main thing—the objective community of their interests and aims and their aspiration to more fully reveal socialism's potential.

This fact is also confirmed by the accord reached to more thoroughly continue the summit discussion started in Bucharest. It is this readiness to continue coordinating political and economic interests that once more proves that the traditions of working out a coordinated line responding to the interests of our whole socialist community as well as each country belonging to it, remain relevant even today. The mutual gravitation remains unshakeable. One must suppose that in this is to be found one of the main results of the Bucharest conference.

[Andrianov] I think that one cannot ignore this important fact either: those participating in the Bucharest meeting stressed that, while advocating military, political, and territorial stability in Europe, the participant states of the Warsaw Pact are proceeding from the fact that all people decide themselves on the fate of their country; they have the right to choose for themselves the sociopolitical and economic system and state structure they consider appropriate.

Stability presupposes a rejection of confrontational doctrines and of reliance of force, and intolerance of direct or oblique interference in the internal affairs of other states. By signing the Bucharest documents the leaders of the state of the Warsaw Pact organization demonstrated a constructive and realistic approach, taking into consideration the interests of all Europeans, including such a military-political organization as NATO. Now I think that it is vital that the decisions made in Bucharest result in actual accords and actual accomplishments.

[Kolchanov] The Bucharest meeting, I think, is sufficiently convincing evidence of the fact that the leader of the fraternal parties and countries give a great deal of attention to problems of many-sided economic cooperation, and in order to define and consolidate, on the threshold of the new 5-year period, the most progressive directions and the most promising forms of interaction, and to give a fresh stimulus to the entire package of many-sided economic ties. The readiness for further coordination of political and economic interests shows that the traditions of working out a coordinated (?line) which corresponds to the interests of the whole community and of each country within it, remain topical today, too.

It is surely obvious that despite all the specific features and unique aspects of the internal development of the different socialist countries, it is their community which remains the guiding forces.

[Vedenyapin] Well now, another event which attracted close attention, another of this week's events, was the official visit to Poland and Hungary by George Bush, President of the United States of America. May I remind you that an American President has already been to Poland—that was in 1978—but it is the first time a U.S. President has visited Hungary.

[Kolchanov] You, esteemed listeners, will probably recall that starting from 1960's the U.S. East European policy has not infrequently been called the "policy of differentiated approach," a variation on the theme of the stick and the carrot policy. Economic assistance, the size of credits, stepping up and even starting up one contact or another, was all pretty categorically linked with behavior which Washington found to its liking on the part of any particular country, both in the international arena and in internal life.

[Andrianov] The question quite naturally, I think, arises—has the present Washington administration remained true to this political line?

[Kolchanov] The answer to that question, it seems to me, is not a simple one. There are sufficient grounds for affirming any complete retreat from this line just as, incidentally, there are insufficient grounds for saying that this line has not come in for some positive shifts. The very choice of Poland and Hungary for an official visit within the very first 6 months of the new administration being in power, of course is evidence of a differentiated approach. Poland and Hungary are regarded in Washington as states which are implementing substantial political and economic liberalization. It was precisely this aspect that President Bush repeatedly stressed on the eve of the visit and during the course of his trip, too. In a meeting with Polish journalists, for instance, he emphasized that the visit was justified in so far as events are moving in a direction which we welcome: the direction, the president added, of widening democracy.

In Budapest, too, the U.S. President declared that his country intends to back the reforms. According to Bush, the West's assistance will be granted parallel with liberalization. Bush went on to back the spirit of free enterprise and political reform, a correspondent of the U.S. television company ABC reported from Budapest during the visit.

A great deal has been written about the assistance, the extent and nature of it, especially—for quite understandable reasons—in the mass media in the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. Politicians of both the ruling parties and of oposition organizations have voiced their opinions on this topic. Polish solidarity experts have calculated that about $10 billion will be needed to restore the Polish national economy.

[Vedenyapin] That's in total. As far as the United States' position is concerned, one should point out that U.S. assistance encompasses several programs. I shall mention that these include drawing up an intergovernmental agreement on private business contacts in order to stimulate cooperation between U.S. firms and the private sector in Poland; expansion of exchanges and professional tuition and training of specialists from the private sector; permission for overseas private investment corporations to grant insurance against political risk to U.S. private companies; and, finally, the granting of trading privileges to Poland.

The United States is ready to study the possibility of considerably postponing the payment of Poland's official debt and working out a new firm repayment schedule at the Paris club. The United States intends, as they say, to make an effort to get the IMF to conclude a temporary agreement to grant financial means for economic reform in Poland.

[Kolchanov] Well, that is, so to speak, programs, projects, wishes, promises and so on from this rather ill-defined area. But as a result of Bush's visit to Poland a decision to allocate funds for reviving the Polish private sector and to recommend that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development grants Poland economically justified loans to the tune of $325 million to assist agriculture and industry has not actually been made but is to be passed by Congress. Fifteen million will be allocated to joint steps with Poland to prevent air and water pollution in Krakow.

As you can see, the difference between what Poland wants and what the United States is promising is considerable. Before Bush's arrival in Hungary there were many rumors going around, including in the press, that the guest from across the ocean was bringing something like a mini-Marshall Plan on the scale of $2 to 3 billion. Rejecting those rumors, Horn, Hungary's minister of foreign affairs, underlined that there is no question of this. We would like, he said, for Hungary to be granted immediately most favored nation status in trade for 5 or more years. The fact is that at the moment Hungary is forced each year to wait for the extention of such conditions to the next 12 months. It is not known whether they will be continued or not. The Hungarian foreign minister pointed out that Hungary naturally feels the need to import Western technology, which in general requires a review and an extenuation of the Cocom [Coordinating Committee on Export Controls] regulations.

[Vedenyapin] I should remind you that that is the Coordinating Committee on Export Controls to socialist countries. And, on this point, just on the eve of the president's visit the U.S. congress rejected a proposal to grant Hungarian trade most favored nation status for 5 years.

[Andrianov] Well yes, this is to the point from a chronological point of view, but in essence it is not to the point at all, because it was in Hungary that some

progress in this direction was expected. During the course of the visit Bush stressed that at the summit meeting of leaders of the leading capitalist countries in Paris he would put forward proposals in support of reform in Poland and Hungary, and would ask for congressional approval for the creation of a special fund to assist the revival of the private economy in Hungary. At the same time he noted that Hungarian problems must be resolved by Hungarians themselves. That is how things stand with certain economic aspects of the U.S. President's visit to Poland and Hungary.

[Vedenyapin] Regarding political problems, Bush gave considerable attention to issues of security and disarmament. At present, he commented, a real opportunity has emerged to build, by common efforts, the Europe of the future, which will be both open and united and free. To this end, the new relations between East and West must be based upon a considerably lower level of armaments. A good start has been made here. Both sides have put forward constructive proposals, and in the president's opinion, the reduction of armed forces should proceed in parallel with political change. Poland's decision to embark upon political reforms, and Hungary's steps in the same direction therefore are of great significance which extends beyond their borders.

[Kolchanov] Speaking to students and teachers in Budapest—Again touching upon foreign political affairs—Bush declared that the USSR and United States are capable of overcoming through joint efforts the spirit of the policy of deterrence, and overcoming the epoch of the cold war. The reduction of military confrontation in Europe is a key stage on the path, in his view. The issues connected with this may be very complex, Bush said, but we are constantly working in the interests of attaining a reliable agreement, historic in its significance, and aimed towards strengthening stability in Europe and lessening the danger of war. Wise words and interesting proposals.

However, a number of media in the West—I would like to quote in particular THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper—point out another circumstance. Bush, the newspaper writes, is using his trips to Poland and Hungary to promote attempts—simultaneously both cautious and bold—which are aimed at pushing these two central European countries away from communism in the direction of the West and its principles of a free market and political pluralism. In this connection, I would like to say that the President himself, both on the eve of and during the visit, repeatedly declared that he—I am quoting literally here—does not wish to make the life of the Soviet leader difficult, does not want to drive a wedge between the Warsaw Treaty allies, and does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. Well, time will tell which words and intentions will be embodied in real deeds, and what will remain on paper and on tape.

[Vedenyapin] When you were talking just now, Rudolf Georgiyevich, about President Bush's visit to Poland and Hungary, you mentioned Paris, which has attracted attention this week not only because of its magnificent celebration of the bicentenary of the great French revolution but also because of the conference of the so-called Big Seven held there, one could say, in the framework of this celebration. Those taking part in this sort of meeting—they are traditional and take place every year; the present meeting is now the 15th—are the leaders of the United States, Canada, Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, and Japan. Well, this time the Paris meeting was perhaps somewhat unusual. The thing is, that this time its participants went beyond the bounds of discussing just their own economic problems. The range of subjects under discussion was considerably broadened. What is more, the main stress was laid upon two problems: under discussion were questions concerning the debts of the developing countries and problems of environmental protection, problems which have indeed assumed global significance. Of course, a considerable place, a very considerable place in the work of the seven was also given to political matters, above all to East-West relations.

[Kolchanov] I think that the two problems that you have mentioned as the very main ones and other problems, are all generally in the very great measures serious and they are very important. Suffice it to say, for example, that the problem of Third World countries' debt to foreign banks and foreign companies has been discussed in the pages of the world press for the last 2 or 3 years. The actual debt of these countries has reached a truly astronomic sum. It is estimated to be $ 1.3 trillion. And there are no real prospects for this enormous sum to be paid back. As regards the other great problem, the ecological problem, and the state of nature and the environment that people inhabit, this alarms not only scientists and politicians but also the public in practically all countries of the world.

[Andrianov] So, what measures are proposed by the Big Seven? Incidentally, this is the first time for George Bush, as the head of the U.S. Administration, to take in a meeting at this level. It is not surprising that the White House was especially thorough in preparing for this event. At issue here is not only the debut of the U.S. President. I think that what played a certain part is, among other things, the understanding of the rapid changes under way in the world.

[Vedenyapin] This means, above all, the grand scale of democratic transformations in the socialist countries, the transformations, as is being admitted in the White House, require a coordinated response from the West. It is not without reason that at news conferences held right before President Bush's departure for Europe, special emphasis was laid on the historic nature of the changes both in our country and in other socialist states. Well, to use the words of Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, now is a time, as he put it, of opportunity and hope being experienced both in the East and the West. And it is not for nothing that in several of his speeches George Bush spoke about the need to go beyond the bounds of the

policy of deterrence conducted by the West since the beginning of the cold war, and to establish in a radical way different relations with the USSR, relations different from those that existed previously and designed to develop a lasting rather than cyclical cooperation.

[Kolchanov] The White House prepared for the Paris meeting a special information document which notes that the improvement of the political climate in East-West relations, and the policy of the current Soviet leadership has considerably enhanced the interest in expanding cooperation. True, this also reflects the extreme caution of the new U.S. Administration which believes that economic cooperation must not and cannot play a leading part in the political process underway between East and West. As a whole—I would like to repeat the view of my colleagues taking part in today's roundtable discussion—the utterances of the U.S. Administration's leading members points to the readiness of the West for cooperation with the East in various spheres. So, the same information document of the White House stresses that the West is increasingly aware of the general threats with which all countries are faced at present. These include regional conflicts, the proliferation of nuclear and chemical weapons, terrorism, drug smuggling, and deterioration of the situation in the ecological sphere. All these problems, the document says, cross the borders between East and West, and have...[changes thought] to be more exact, resolving them requires the most urgent measures.

[Andrianov] Let us nevertheless go back to discussing what specific measures for the above-mentioned two most acute problems are being proposed by the Big Seven. As for the astronomic debt of the developing countries, the Americans are inclining to the plan of Brady, the current U.S. treasury secretary. He proposes for the size of the developing states' debt payment to be somewhat reduced. However, these countries themselves and many Western banks believe that the Brady plan is not sufficiently effective. The French, on their part, propose their own way to tackle the problem of the debt: Creation of a special guarantee fund at the expense of the reserves of the Internaional Monetary Fund to ensure that the banks are paid interest. But this position does not find response in Washington and Bonn where there is an apprehension about inflational processes. The West German experts propose yet another way—increasing financial aid to the developing countries through reducing military spending. Incidentally, this would also help, thanks to the resources released, to tackle ecological problems. In one way or another, the presidents of Venezuela, Egypt, India and Senegal have addressed to the seven via Francois Mitterrand a proposal on convening as soon as possible a summit conference of the state and government heads of North and South, so as finally to elaborate a common approach toward tackling sensibly the problems of indebtedness.

[Vedenyapin] As for ecology, four members of the Seven—Italy, Canada, the FRG and France—propose that an international ecological organization be created, one endowed with broad powers at that. They believe that otherwise it will hardly be possible to concentrate on tackling most topical problems in the ecology sphere, or to undertake effective, really effective measures to prevent the so-called greenhouse effect, for example, to preserve the ozone layer of our planet, to protect tropical forests and to struggle against the pollution of the sea. However, Great Britain and the United States do not quite agree with this proposal. They think that an organization like this, should it be set up, would turn into a regular bureaucratic body.

[Kolchanov] But even the very fact that these problems are raised and their interpretation, the actual attempts to tackle them, show the interconnected and interdependent nature of the modern world, something which insistently dictates the need to tackle problems common to all by means of efforts on the part of all states. This is why, within the framework of the discussion in Paris, a central place was taken by the question of East-West relations. This is why many people are waiting for specific real actions from the Western Countries in response to the important initiatives put forward lately by the Soviet leadership. And this is why many political observers express the hope that the members of the Big Seven will contribute to strengthen the cause of peace and international cooperation.

[Vedenyapin] Well, the time of our program is up. I am grateful to its participants. Thank you, comrade listeners, for your attention. Good-bye, all the best.

UNESCO Chief Arrives on Official Visit

LD1607212789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1743 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jul (TASS)—Federico Mayor Zaragoza, UNESCO director general, arrived today in Moscow on an official visit as a guest of the Soviet Government.

He was met at the airport by Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, Vladimir Lomeyko, permanent representative of the USSR at UNESCO, and other officials.

In an interview on his arrival, Federico Mayor Zaragoza spoke about the need for the all-around strengthening of mutually-beneficial cooperation between the USSR and UNESCO. He stressed the need for the development of diverse contacts, in particular in the field of biotechnology.

The guest appraised highly Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations, pointing out moreover its importance for establishing a strong and stable peace and for guaranteeing all-embracing international security.

East-West Forum Completes Work in Austria

PM1307122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent I. Melnikov report: "Venue—Alpbach"]

[Text] Alpbach, 11 Jul—The congress-dialogue "Western Europe—the Soviet Union" has come to a close here, in this picturesque little Tyrolean town. Leading figures from the EEC and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), important Western managers, and Soviet experts in economics, foreign trade, culture, and human rights took part in the sessions, which lasted 3 days.

The discussion centered on the economy, management, and culture. The organizers of the congress—this role was filled by Professor Otto Molden [name as transliterated], president of the "Austrian College," and his associates—placed the emphasis on brief, meaningful reports from both sides and lively discussion, in which competence, experience, a keen, quick intellect, and open expression of one's own particular standpoint invariably prevailed.

This is what the participants said about the meeting:

Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, who played a considerable role in organizing the congress, said that Alpbach "once again successfully fulfilled a 'typically Austrian function': building bridges. At previous congresses these bridges have been cast in the direction of the United States, Japan, Africa and Latin America, India, and the ASEAN countries respectively. I am pleased that dialogue between Western Europe and the USSR has now been placed on the agenda.

"Although Austria was responsible for initiating the forum," the minister continued, "it serves the interests of all Europe. Everyone together and everyone individually will benefit from broader, deeper dialogue."

"This was our first contact with the 'Austrian College,'" I.D. Ivanov, head of the Soviet delegation and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economics Commission, said to me. "It was interesting, because this social organization groups interesting, influential representatives of the scientific, business, and official world around it. What are the immediate benefits of Alpbach? It established new contacts between our specialists and Western specialists. There was an exchange of opinions on the processes taking place in Europe, which made it possible to more clearly establish each other's views and broaden mutual understanding. An accord was reached on continuing cooperation in the sphere of management and culture and also in some areas of the economy. Soviet experts have been invited to take part in the annual congresses of the 'Austrian College.'"

International Customs Body Adopts Declaration

PM1207122189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by TASS correspondent Aleksey Brezhkov: "Customs Cooperation Council Session"]

[Text] Washington, 8 Jul—The annual session of the Customs Cooperation Council (CCC) has ended its work here by adopting the Washington declaration, setting out the basic guidelines for collaboration among the world's customs services in future decades. Delegations from the 104 CCC member countries took part, and there were also observers, including a Soviet delegation headed by V.K. Boyarov, chief of the Main State Customs Control Administration under the USSR Council of Ministers.

During the session the leaders of the customs services exchanged opinions on the results of CCC activity in the past year and adopted a number of important documents. They paid special attention to solving questions of the introduction of automation and computerization into the handling of freight and to the potential for electronic exchange of informatioon between customs services. "The electronic data exchange strategy approved in the CCC Washington declaration," United States Customs Service Chief William von Raab said at a press conference on Friday [7 July], "will make it possible to facilitate and standardize customs operations on the basis of totally paperless technology." Ultimately, he noted, this will be a significant contribution to accelerating world trade.

The session participants stressed the need to further strengthen coordination of customs services' activities to combat smuggling and breaches of customs regulations. The documents adopted by the CCC note with alarm that illegal trafficking in narcotics is tending to increase in the world. It is causing serious economic and social damage in many countries. The session delegates urged the governments of those countries which have not yet endorsed the the 1988 International Convention on combatting the illegal trafficking of narcotics and psychotropic substances to sign it. The Soviet Union has already signed the convention.

After the CCC session ended there was a bilateral meeting of the heads of the USSR and U.S. customs services. It was held in accordance with an agreement reached in January between the two countries' governments on questions of collaboration in combatting drugs smuggling. The sides achieved mutual understanding on the need to exchange information on these matters and also to study the experience accumulated by the USSR and U.S. customs services. This cooperation, the meeting participants noted, will contribute to better backup for trade relations between the two countries and their developing ties.

Symposium on Computer Software Piracy Ends

PM1307133989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[S. Leskov article: "How Can We Fight Computer Pirates?"]

[Text] The International Forum on the Problems of Intellectual Ownership of Software has ended in Pereslavl-Zalesskiy.

Plagiarism probably emerged at the same time as creativity itself. Instead of tormenting oneself, it is easier to steal a ready solution or borrow a subject. In the late 20th century, when computer systems are spreading everywhere, this old problem has become more acute than ever. After all, computer programs can cost enormous amounts—as much as an aircraft carrier.

Our country is now embarking on the road of computerization, although unfortunately somewhat belatedly. This new kind of activity raises many new problems. But the main problem is that the borrowing of foreign programs undermines trust between partners and complicates the development of business relations.

The leaders of 16 leading Western firms came to Pereslavl-Zalesskiy. The declaration "Principles of the Development of the Programming Industry on the Basis of the Legal Protection of Intellectual Property" was adopted after heated discussion. It is expected that it will be signed this year by thousands of firms specializing in the creation of programs. As H. Auvinen (of the firm Asumer Oy) noted, the question of protecting intellectual property could become an even more serious obstacle to the development of international trade than the imposition of embargoes by Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls].

"The number of personal computers in the USSR will only enter the millions in the mid-nineties," A. Giglavyy, senior secretary of the forum and scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Programming Systems Institute, said. "Above all, today's schoolchildren should be familiar with the problem of intellectual property. That is why all 1,300 students at the Computer Training Center, of which I am the scientific leader, will be obliged to familiarize themselves with the provisions of this declaration."

The forum participants met with Academician I. Makarov, chief scientific secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, who supported the importance of the declaration and promised that it would be observed by Soviet scientists.

United States & Canada

Commentators View Bush Visit to East Europe

'Positive Role' Welcomed

PM1607184389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Manki Ponomarev "Observer's Opinion": "From Positions of Realism? Obviously"]

[Text] As soon as it was announced about 3 months ago that G. Bush intended to visit Poland and Hungary, conservative circles in the United States immediately viewed this as an attempt to "drive a wedge" among the countries of Eastern Europe and undermine their alliance relations with the USSR. People such as R. Nixon and H. Kissinger were particularly zealous in this respect. They and their kind continue to think even now in categories of confrontation and cold war.

Furthermore, the reply to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reader R. Starygin published 12 May mentioned that. And the hope was expressed then that realism must prevail. New approaches will be found different from the old ones based on the thinking of force and blocs.

Now, when the White House head's visits to Poland and Hungary are over, it should be said that the temptation to act in that spirit and to exploit the difficulties experienced by both the Polish and the Hungarian peoples was great. In the period of preparation for the visit, the President himself said: "We are not going to act without conditions.... We must remember that Poland is still a member of the Warsaw Pact." And his advisers, in particular Under Secretary of State L. Eagleburger, openly insisted on the need to adhere to the so-called "policy of differentiation," that is, to emphasize the encouragement of those East European countries whose course most pleases the United States.

But responsible politicians in the West can no longer ignore the transformational force of the new political thinking created by the Soviet restructuring—the real threat of total annihilation leaves no room for the policy of yesterday, although recurrences of it are still not so rare. Realism is increasingly persistently gaining ground. And I think that Bush's trip to Poland and Hungary confirmed that.

Even before departing from Washington the President categorically denied that he intended to try to destabilize the situation in Poland or Hungary or to complicate relations between them and the Soviet Union. Evidently, the suspicion that such attempts were possible seriously worried the President. He returned to that theme several times. The main theme of his comments was the idea that he does not want to put Gorbachev in a difficult position or drive a wedge among the participants in the Warsaw Pact, especially since the Soviet leader's recent visits to the FRG and France showed that the USSR has no intention of separating those countries from the United States or inciting anti-U.S. feelings there. Furthermore, in both Warsaw and Budapest Bush stressed that the United States has an interest in the success of Soviet restructuring. It is his belief, he said, that the improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations is having a beneficial effect on the two states' allies as well.

The results of the U.S. President's talks in Poland and Hungary give no grounds for doubting the sincerity of such statements. But undue optimism, I think, is out of place here, too. Whichever way you look at it, the places chosen for the visits were those East European countries which are regarded across the ocean as "good" ones and the development of relations with them, in Washington's opinion, permits the hope of definite political dividends. But some other socialist states are still regarded as "bad"—the GDR, for example, and although the possibility of meetings with its leaders in the future is not dismissed it is hedged with a series of prior conditions and demands.

Let us return, however, to the visits to Poland and Hungary. How did they proceed and what were their results? On the whole, the talks were constructive in character. G. Bush behaved like an experienced and tactful politician. In Poland, for example, he met with representatives of the country's leadership and with opposition leaders.

But the hopes of the Polish and Hungarian publics for major economic aid, considerably encouraged by the U.S. press on the eve of the visits, incidentally, were not borne out. Solidarity's leaders told the president about the extreme need for new credits of around $10 billion whereas in fact, as Polish Government spokesman W. Gornicki reported, the country can realistically count on only $15 million,—one-hundredth of what it wanted. True, Bush did promise that at the meeting of the leaders of the seven leading capitalist countries in Paris (which began yesterday) he would raise the question of a rescheduling of the repayments on Poland's large debt to the West and some other measures.

Nor were Hungary's expectations that it would be given long-term most-favored-nation status in economic relations with the United States justified. It is well known that Hungary already enjoys that status. But it has been granted for just 1 year and has to be renewed every time.

The results of the meetings were surely more successful in the political sphere. Both Warsaw and Budapest believe that they will help to develop relations with the United States and note with satisfaction that this is promoted to a decisive extent by the positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations and the general improvement of the international climate. Both capitals noted Bush's recent comment that "we are now standing on the threshold of a new era, a new era in our relations with the Soviet Union, an era which goes beyond the limits of the successful strategy of containment."

On the whole, clearly, there are grounds for saying that Bush's trip played a positive role not only in developing U.S. ties with Poland and Hungary but also in the general improvement of East-West relations. U.S. policy on those issues today definitely coincides with the Soviet concept of the integrated and interdependent world and the development of peaceful coexistence between the states of East and West. The dialogue, one built on a realistic basis furthermore, continues to develop.

Visit 'Considered a Success'

PM1507183589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Stanislav Kondrashov in "Political Commentator's Opinion": "New Realities, New Hopes"]

[Text] Europe has become the arena of an unusual exchange of visits by leaders of the two nuclear superpowers—not from one to the other but crossing one another. In June and July M.S. Gorbachev visited the FRG and France, where he clarified the seriousness of the Soviet intentions on building the "common European home," while this week G. Bush spent 2 days in Poland and 2 more in Hungary before going to Paris, where he added the question of economic aid to those two socialist countries to the agenda of the meeting of the Group of Seven industrialized nations. It should be remembered that since Bush took office as president the two leaders have still not managed to meet. What is this—a breach of the customary order of things? More a sign of the times. The dynamism of present international dialogues has upset many of the old bloc routines. Other states besides the USSR and the United States are increasingly active in adding their voices to the dialogues as they resolve their own national tasks and impart new content to the complex of East-West relations.

The central reason for these changes is well known—it is all to do with the ripples radiating from Soviet restructuring. Everything, including the appearance of a U.S. president on the Eastern European stage—for the first time since the war in Budapest, and for the first time in Warsaw since 1977, when the two countries' relations were frozen by the U.S. reaction to Poland's domestic events connected with the difficult birth of the opposition trade union association Solidarity. The international consequences of restructuring can be seen in the easing of intrabloc discipline and the liberation of interbloc contact. Its radiating ripples are even forcing the United States to adjust to the new opportunities in relations with the European socialist countries.

The choice of location for the U.S. President's visits, of course, was no chance event. In the U.S. view, and not only the U.S. view, the path of reforms has been traveled further in Warsaw and Budapest than in other East European capitals. Bush characterized Poland and Hungary as "states on the threshold of a new era, where the spirit of freedom can be felt in its entirety." "In both countries," he said when setting out on his journey, "we see remarkable changes which no one could have imagined possible even 1 year ago. New people are determining the course of national policy—and both these countries have taken the path of economic rebirth and political pluralism. My visit underlines the growing significance that our country attaches to the changing face of Central Europe."

In this sense it may be said that Bush's trip was prompted by Solidarity's great success in the Polish elections. It was not without reason that he divided the tokens of his attention and respect between Jaruzelski and Walesa, adding to the latter tokens of open sympathy. The Americans have also been keeping a close eye on the course of the radical political reform in Hungary, which has opted for a multiparty system, and the U.S. President added to his scheduled meetings in Budapest an unscheduled one—with the opposition.

Seeing the changes as a resolute rejection of the Stalinist model of socialism, the Americans, like the West Europeans, welcome them and are ready to encourage further movement in that direction. However, the forms of welcome vary. Not constrained by an official position, Brzezinski stated that Poland and Hungary have already entered the "postcommunist era." Bush, eschewing categorical assessments, talked in Budapest about the "unprecedented experiment" in which the Hungarian people are involved: "The communist system is seeking to develop in the direction of a more open economy and a more open and pluralist political system."

The U.S. President called his mission a "delicate" one. Ideological dreams are held in check by political realities. Of course, Washington would not be averse to ending the decisive influence of the Polish and Hungarian Communists in their own countries but understands that even to openly state that aim will mean losses rather than dividends for U.S. policy. "Ideally," of course, U.S. conservatives dream about separating Eastern Europe from the Soviet Union, which they look on as returning it to the "European fold," but any attempts to dislodge the cornerstones of the existing edifice of European security could bring that edifice down as well. In his own words, Bush the pragmatist does not want to "make life difficult for Gorbachev." Essentially he approves of only those changes which Moscow has approved of or has already initiated in practice. This is a realistic approach for every U.S. politician who remembers that U.S.-Soviet relations remain crucial to East-West relations.

But how were the results of Bush's visit viewed in Warsaw and Budapest? Our newspaper has already reported on that: The assessment was positive, in both countries the visit was considered a success. Who will deny the importance of the United States in the world arena? The different participants in the political struggle in Poland and Hungary would like to use to their own advantage the U.S. President's approval of the processes

taking place in those countries. But in one respect, the most practical and urgent one furthermore, Bush did not live up to their hopes. Namely, on economic aid.

The Polish economy is in a chronic and ever-worsening crisis—with inflation at 100 percent and deficits which sometimes exceed even ours. Massive Western aid is seen as virtually the main way out both by the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party and the opposition in the form of Solidarity. The latter, hoping for special sympathy, had prepared for Bush's arrival proposals for a loan of $10 billion—on top of the current foreign debt of $39 billion. Hungary has no deficit in the consumer market but prices are high, like the inflation rate, and the working people's living standard is falling. In view of the size of the country and its population its requests to the Americans were less—$3-4 billion. Alas, the same fate awaited them: When it came to dollars the U.S. President did not say yes. Hopes of Uncle Sam's generosity were dashed. He came without his money bags—as he had previously warned, furthermore.

Instead of the billions they got fairly modest millions—to stimulate the private sector: $100 million in Poland, $25 million in Hungary. "The best way is privatization," Bush said. It was in this same vein that he couched in general terms ideas which are not new and are already accepted in our country, ideas on the development of the market economy and on the fact that progress is best achieved via the activity of people, not the state. The President's advice, however, could not make up for the disappointed hopes. Instead of a new Marshall plan for Eastern Europe there was what some journalists have called the "Bush doctrine," limited at the moment to verbal approval of the Polish and Hungarian reforms. There isn't much surplus money in Washington, and anyway they think there that it is better to hold back with the reward and force the pace of economic and political reforms just by the promise of it.

Meanwhile, the desire—and the need—for urgent aid from the West is so great in Poland that Wojciech Jaruzelski has sent a special message to that effect to the participants in the Group of Seven meeting in Paris. It says bluntly: "Poland's sociopolitical and economic reforms will have a chance of success only if the country manages to quickly overcome the present difficult economic situation.... Foreign economic aid to Poland is of fundamental significance to the realization of this goal. That is the agreed position of the authorities and the opposition."

The final phrase, for all its apparently calm resonance, is dramatic evidence of both the new realities and the new hopes. One of those hopes, as we have seen, is that the U.S. President, having familiarized himself with the situation on the spot, will plead the Polish case in Paris.

U.S. Senate Votes for Sanctions Against PRC

LD1507191889 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 15 Jul 89

[By TASS Correspondent Nikolay Orekhov]

[Text] Washington July 15 TASS—The U.S. Senate approved Friday [14 July] both a package of sanctions against the Chinese People's Republic, including the repudiation of numerous joint economic and trade programs, and an appeal to George Bush to study possibilities for more sanctions along the same lines.

Eighty one senators voted in favor of the sanctions, ten—against.

The package was adopted as an amendment to the bill on allocations for the needs of the Department of State. The House of Representatives had voted earlier for a similar set of sanctions to be incorporated in the bill of foreign assistance. Both the chambers will now have to coordinate their proposals before submitting the final document for President Bush to sign.

The White House, which announced the introduction of sanctions straight after the events in Beijing, is no longer pleased with the attempts of the Congress to intervene in the U.S.-Chinese interstate relations. The UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL has reported that the administration is of the opinion that legislators are encroaching on President Bush's freedom of manoeuvre in this delicate situation.

White House Spokesman M. Fitzwater, who is in Paris with President George Bush, told reporters that the White House attitude toward the Senate decision was like that toward the bill of the House of Representatives. He said the White House considered the sanctions it had introduced sufficient. He said it was advisable to keep in mind long-term perspectives of the U.S. relations with China.

The Senate package of sanctions against China included a six-month ban on the activity in China of the private foreign investment corporation which insures investments of American firms. Senators also demanded that the American program for the development of trade with China be suspended, cooperation in the nuclear field be repudiated and the shipment of American satellites due to be launched into orbit with the help of Chinese booster rockets be prohibited.

The Senate also called on the president, without binding him, to postpone the decision on new loans to China and to oppose issuing of loans to China by international financial organizations, as well as to study the question of retaining the most favored nation treatment for Chinese commodities, and to reconsider the question of all the other U.S.-Chinese trade agreements.

China

Chairman Ryzhkov Meets With PRC's Song Jian

PM1607182189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "PRC Delegation Received"]

[Text] In the Kremlin 15 July N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received a PRC government delegation headed by Song Jian, member of the PRC State Council and chairman of the State Science and Technology Commission: The delegation has come for the festival of Chinese science and technology in the USSR and the exhibition "Science and Technology in the PRC."

After noting the considerable progress in the development of Soviet-Chinese relations in recent years, the participants in the conversation gave a high appraisal of the results of M.S. Gorbachev's recent visit to China. The meetings and talks in Beijing offered new opportunities for the consistent expansion and deepening of Soviet-Chinese ties in the interests of the two peoples and the cause of world peace.

Talking about the ever-increasing role of science and technology in the overall complex of processes of socialist renewal in the USSR and in ensuring a new quality of economic growth, N.I. Ryzhkov noted that the task of the broad utilization in civilian production of the great scientific and technical experience gained in defense industry sectors is being actively resolved in our country now.

Because scientific achievements must be the property of all mankind in the modern, interconnected world, the Soviet Union is open to broad cooperation in various spheres of science and technology. In relations with China such cooperation is, furthermore, an important element in strengthening good-neighborliness. That is shown by the PRC science and technology festival in the USSR, which encourages the search for reserves and demonstrates the great potential for cooperation in high technology spheres.

Song Jian said that the PRC science and technology festival in the USSR, just like its Soviet counterpart in the PRC in November 1988, reflects the two peoples' growing mutual interest in each other and helps to expand Soviet-Chinese ties in many areas. After noting the leading position of Soviet science in a number of areas of fundamental research, Song Jian expressed the hope that creative contacts between Soviet and Chinese specialists, scientists, and production workers will be deepened during the science and technology festival. The exhibition now in progress will give Soviet people a fuller idea of China's achievements on the path of carrying out socialist modernization and will promote further progress in relations between the two countries.

During the friendly conversation, held in a spirit of mutual understanding and frankness, there was also an exchange of opinions on a number of practical questions of Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

Present during the conversation were N.P. Laverov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, the Chinese representatives accompanying Song Jian, and Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR.

Li Peng, Jiang Zemin Cited on Beijing 'Incident'

PM1707111689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Conference in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing, 13 Jul—Openness to the outside world is the PRC's main, unswerving policy, Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, stated at a conference held here of Chinese diplomatic representatives to foreign countries.

"At the same time," the Chinese leader stressed, "in connection with the acute political struggle in the world community, it is necessary to maintain vigilance."

As XINHUA reports, a speech was also delivered at the plenum by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council. He noted that although the recent disturbances and rebellion in Beijing resulted in great losses for the country, "on the whole the incident that occurred did us a good turn." As a result of this incident the party passed another major test and the political consciousness of the broad people's masses, party members, and cadre workers increased. Interference in the implementation of the principles and policy approved by the 3d plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 11th convocation, was eliminated, and a new party leadership was formed, headed by Ziang Zemin.

The party and government, Li Peng said, do not condemn Chinese students studying abroad for their participation in demonstrations and radical remarks, because, being far from home, they came under the influence of Western propaganda and did not know the truth. "Let them sum up their own experience and learn their lessons. We hope they will study with application," the premier of the PRC State Council stressed, "and we will welcome their return home on completion of their studies and their work for the motherland's sake."

The Chinese head of government again noted that the PRC will not change its independent foreign policy of peace, as well as the policy of developing friendly relations with various countries of the world on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

Jiang Zemin Gives Assurances on Hong Kong

PM1307132189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[From column of TASS, REUTER reports under the rubric "Abroad": "Statement by Jiang Zemin"]

[Text] Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, said at a meeting with figures from Hong Kong: "We are building our socialism and you can build your capitalism. We will not spread socialism to Hong Kong and you must not export capitalism to the mainland part of the country. In matters concerning Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan we follow the principle "one country—two systems."

An official Chinese government Spokesman told journalists that the case of Zhao Ziyang is still being investigated, after which a decision will be made on his future.

PRC Spokesman Holds News Conference 11 Jul

Comments on Economy, Martial Law

LD1207125889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] [Announcer] Statistical data indicate that in the first half year, the economy of China developed more successfully than we supposed. This was stated by the official PRC Government spokesman, Yuan Mu, at a press conference held in Beijing for Chinese and foreign journalists. Our correspondent, Albert Papayan, reports from Beijing.

[Papayan] He reported in particular that in industry, the volume of gross output had reached 639,000 million yuan—an almost 11 percent increase, compared to a similar period last year. A good harvest of summer crops has been gathered. Ninety-three million tonnes of grain have been procured. Investments in capital construction have been reduced in order to slow the overheated economy and thus help to improve the economic situation.

Recently, Yuan Mu noted, the prices for basic food products such as meat, eggs, and vegetables have remained stable. The country's foreign economic contacts have been developing.

Among the difficulties, the representative of the PRC State Council named inflation, the trade deficit, the irrationality of the economic structure, and the perceptible growth rate of the consumption fund. The unit-cost of production has increased. The volume of losses in industry has increased. As a result the balance between income and expenditure of the state budget has deteriorated.

Yuan Mu again stressed that China firmly intends to continue the policy of reforms and openness to the outside world, and the extension of foreign contacts. All necessary measures will be taken to restore the damage inflicted on the economy during the disorders and the counter-revolutionary rebellion.

Responding to a question as to why martial law continues in Beijing, he said:

[Begin Yuan recording in Chinese with superimposed Russian translation] The Chinese Government decided to introduce martial law in some districts of Beijing, the official PRC spokesperson says, because disorders and a counter-revolutionary rebellion had taken place in the capital. Although a decisive victory was won in the battle with the counter-revolutionary rebels, this battle has not been ended. Some weapons still remain in the hands of hooligans. This could result in further disorders. For this reason, in order to ensure the personal safety of people and their property, to guarantee the safety of the Beijing municipal government, and to ensure normal public order and stability in Beijing, martial law is not being removed in some districts of the capital for the time being.

I want to stress, Yuan Mu says in conclusion, that if it had proved impossible to put down the counter-revolutionary rebellion, and if the counter-revolutionary forces had gotten what they were after, a white terror would have been established in the city. [end recording]

Criticizes Zhao Ziyang

PM1707092989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS dispatch: "Statement by PRC State Council Spokesman"]

[Text] Beijing, 12 Jul—In some areas of Beijing martial law will be lifted after the full restoration of public order in the city. Yuan Mu, a PRC State Council spokesman, stated this at a press conference here Tuesday [11 July].

He noted that "a decisive victory has been won in the struggle to suppress the counterrevolutionary revolt, but the struggle still continues. Individual elements are attempting to offer resistance." In Yuan Mu's words, "some weapons seized by the rebels have still not been found, so local inhabitants' safety is threatened."

The idea of maintaining martial law the Chinese Government spokesman said, is to ensure that a number of sectors in the national economy and transportation function normally. Martial law, he added, "is helping in the PRC's development, the implementation of the reforms and the policy of openness to the outside world, and the establishment of normal foreign trade."

The PRC State Council spokesman pinned on Zhao Ziyang, the former general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, the responsibility for the increase in corruption among some party and state leaders. Zhao Ziyang, he stressed, ignored ideological-political work and party

building. At present the investigation regarding Zhao Ziyang continues. Whether legal proceedings will be instituted against him depends on the results of this investigation.

Speaking about the fate of the "Beijing students' self-governing association" and the "Beijing workers' self-governing association," Yuan Mu noted that some members of these "illegal organizations" were arrested but some of them have gone into hiding. He did not reveal how many participants in the recent events have been arrested.

Beijing Trade Fair Held; PRC Official Cited

LD1407220589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] The first Beijing international fair, organized by the Chinese Committee for the Promotion and Development of International Trade, opened in the PRC today [14 July]. The motto of the fair is: I seek a partner. Taking part in it are business people from 23 countries and regions of the world. Our correspondent Albert Papayan reports from Beijing:

[Papayan] In addition to a large number of Chinese firms represented by 1,800 businessmen, there are trading organizations and companies from our own country, from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Mongolia, India, Indonesia, South Korea, and joint enterprises from a number of countries. The Soviet exhibition is one of the most representative. Its 25 participants, organizations and enterprises, and foreign trade associations, which have been given the right to operate independently on the external market, are demonstrating marketable samples of industrial equipment, current technology, the latest instruments, machining centers with numerical program control, and computer equipment. One-third of the 1,500 exhibits in the Soviet section are the result of cooperation between related enterprises in CEMA countries.

I spoke with Yin Dzuy Yuy, deputy minister of the PRC metallurgical industry, who visited the Soviet pavillion. He said: We are glad about the participation of the Soviet Union in the first Beijing international fair, I want to note, he continued, that good and close relations have been established between the ministries of metallurgical industry of our two countries. Last year we received a Soviet delegation headed by the Soviet minister of the metallurgical industry. This year, in April, a delegation from the PRC Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry visited your country on a return visit. It was headed by Minister Qi Yuanjing. We have good prospects for cooperation in the field of the metallurgical industry. And they go further than just that field. Following the visit by Comrade Gorbachev to the PRC and his summit meeting with Deng Xiaoping, good prospects for cooperation are opening up for our countries in all fields. This fair is providing a good opportunity for ordinary visitors, as well as business people, to find out about the achievements of the Soviet Union in the field of science and technology, he said in conclusion. It will be the USSR day at the fair on 21 July.

USSR-Chinese Education Protocol Signed

LD1507123489 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Beijing July 15 TASS—About 600 Chinese students and trainees, the same number as this year, will come to the USSR for studies and scientific work in 1990. As many as 320 Soviet students and trainees will go to China at the same time. These figures are mentioned in a protocol of the regular meeting of the Soviet-Chinese working group for cooperation in education, which has been signed here.

The document mentions concrete measures for the development of exchanges, establishment of direct relations between higher educational establishments of the two countries, joint scientific research developments.

It is planned to continue sending Soviet Russian language teachers to a number of Beijing and Shanghai largest higher educational establishments for a better language training of those who are sent to the USSR for studies.

The A.S. Pushkin Russian Language Institute will give assistance to the Heilongjiang University in compiling a big explanatory Russian-Chinese Dictionary the publication of which is being expected by specialists of the two countries.

At its latest meeting, held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, the working group reached an accord on mutual recognition of diplomas on higher education and scientific degrees, issued and awarded by high educational establishments and scientific institutions of the USSR and the People's Republic of China.

The working group is planned to hold its next meeting in Moscow in the first half of 1990.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippines' Manglapus Visits USSR, Holds Talks

LD1607204789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jul (TASS)—Raul Manglapus, secretary of foreign affairs of the Republic of the Philippins, arrived in Moscow for an official visit today at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and other officials met him at the airport.

The guest made a statement upon arrival. He noted in particular that Soviet-Philippine relations are a good example of the way in which two countries with different socioeconomic systems can cooperate in a friendly way to implement common plans, plans to establish a free and flourishing world.

Begins Talks With Shevardnadze

LD1707075189 Moscow TASS in English 0745 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—Soviet-Philippine talks began in Moscow today. They are being held by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs Raul Manglapus.

The Philippine foreign secretary arrived in the Soviet Union for an official visit on Sunday [16 July] at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Commentary Assesses Visit

HK1707070189 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Commentary by Aleksander Vladimirov]

[Text] Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus begins his official visit to the Soviet Union on July 16. His visit will involve Soviet-Philippine consultations on several important issues, as well as the signing of various agreements. The consultations were initiated during the visit to Manila last year by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. During those talks, the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and the Philippines was seen as a positive result of today's improved international situation.

Military and political alliances aimed at reducing tensions between the leading nations are today an ongoing process. With their new improved relations, the Soviet Union and the Philippines expect to break down the old cold war barriers. The agreements signed in Manila by Eduard Shevardnadze were positive steps taken towards this end. Both sides favor greater limits on the arms race and the promotion of cooperative ventures in the economic field.

The agreements in the economic field have already borne fruit. Even as Raul Manglapus begins his visit to the Soviet Union, a delegation of Soviet businessmen has arrived in Manila to sign an agreement with local companies involved in light industry. Both sides have agreed on several options for expanded mutual cooperation in this and other fields.

In the political field, there is firm ground on which to build Soviet-Philippine relations. On the eve of the visit by the Philippine foreign secretary, the Soviet ambassador to the Philippines has confirmed Moscow's intention to help reduce the level of military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region by means of a large arms reduction in the region. He announced that by the year 1991, Soviet Armed Forces will be reduced by 12 divisions and 11 air force wings, as well as 16 units of the Soviet Pacific Fleet which include seven submarines and three combat vessels to be dismantled. In all, the Soviet Union will cut 200,000 soldiers from its forces in Asia. In this way, the Soviet Union manifests its desire to adhere to the new perspectives in the Asia-Pacific region.

As a concrete gesture, the Soviet Union recently invited officials of 15 countries to board the Soviet cruiser "Talinn" during exercises mounted by the Soviet Pacific Fleet. Journalists termed such a move as a manifestation of openness on the part of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces in the region.

The Soviet Union does not discriminate against any country in its extensive consultations dealing with regional security. The unsympathetic reception which the United States has given these proposals has not allowed such a dialogue to become a reality.

The Soviet Union has suggested that the problem of foreign military bases should be discussed—an issue that is of particular importance in Southeast Asia. The Soviet side has often stressed that a such dialogue will not affect any of the alliances of either country. Soviet diplomats have emphasized that the issue of the American military bases in the Philippines is one involving only the Americans and the Filipinos, into which the Soviet Union does not wish to meddle. However, Filipinos view the problem of the bases vis-a-vis militarism in the Asia-Pacific region, as discussed by Eduard Shevardnadze and President Aquino, one that needs to be solved so as to reduce international tension.

The truth is that the Philippines is an active member of ASEAN, with a strong relationship with the Soviet Union. ASEAN's role in Asia during the past few years has been growing. In a messaage sent by Shevardnadze to the ASEAN meeting in Brunei recently, the Soviet Union stated its agreement with the association's aim involving cooperation and disarmament initiatives. In his message, Shevardnadze also cited the Soviet Union's positive attitude towards the ASEAN proposal to set up a nuclear-free zone in the Asia-Pacific region. Such a move would serve to halt the nuclear arms race. He also declared the Soviet Union's readiness to start consultations on this nuclear-free concept.

In a word, the positive basis for such a dialogue has been laid down by the Soviet Union and the Philippines. Hopes are high that Mr Raul Manglapus' visit will serve to make such a dialogue a reality.

More on Soviets Killed in SRV Plane Crash

BK1407025389 Bangkok THE NATION in English 14 Jul 89 p 4

[Text] A Vietnamese military plane carrying a 20-member Soviet military delegation crashed in Vietnam killing all but two of those on board, a Vietnamese embassy spokesman in Bangkok said.

"We don't have much official information, but yes, the plane crashed and there are only two survivors, both badly injured," said the spokesman who asked not to be further identified.

The official said the plane crashed Saturday [8 July] on a flight between Hanoi and Danang, a former US military base near the east coast of central Vietnam.

The spokesman said there were also Vietnamese military officials aboard the plane, but he did not know the total number killed or the nationality of the survivors.

The crash has not yet been mentioned by official Vietnamese news media.

Official Discusses SRV Workers in USSR

18070331 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 Jul 89 p 2

[Letter by V. Solovyev, head of the Main Administration of Management and Worker Cadres of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of the Textile Industry: "Foreign Workers in the USSR"]

[Text] The Main Administration of Mangement and Worker Cadres of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of the Textile Industry reviewed the article "Foreign Workers in the USSR" (SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 14, 15, 17 February 1989) in which work with SRV citizens sent to the USSR for vocational training and as subsequent employment, as well as the conditions of their work, life, and recreation, was reported using the example of the Blagoveshchensk cotton spinning mill.

The textile enterprises of the RSFSR were among the first to hire SRV citizens as early as 1981. In the process of work with them, a multitude of issues have arisen, including those associated with the national peculiarities and the language barrier. At present, more than 15,000 Vietnamese train and work at 62 enterprises of the textile industry, and certain experience has been accumulated.

The article was correct in raising an array of issues associated with the language training of Soviet translators, the need to pay greater attention in the field to organizing the recreation of Vietnamese citizens, and others. The ministry continuously supervises the work of its subordinate enterprises and resolves the issues which arise. Enterprises have an opportunity to sign a contract with Leningrad State University for training Vietnamese language specialists.

In conjunction with the preparation of a new draft agreement between the USSR and SRV Governments until 1995, the ministry has now filed a number of proposals with the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems aimed at further improving cooperation in the matter of cadre training.

The administration believes that such publications in the central press are useful and timely.

Near East & South Asia

India's Prime Minister Gandhi Visits USSR

Welcomed by USSR Officials

PM1607134989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Friendly Visit"]

[Text] Prime Minister R. Gandhi of India arrived in Moscow 15 July for a friendly working visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

R. Gandhi was greeted at the airport by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Shkabardnya, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic ties; I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister; V.F. Isakov, USSR ambassador to India; and other officials.

The welcoming party included T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR.

The state flags of India and the Soviet Union were raised at the airport.

Begins Talks With Gorbachev 15 Jun

LD1507120189 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi have just begun talks at the Grand Kremlin Palace, St. Catherine's Hall.

Gandhi arrived in the Soviet Union today on a friendly working visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Indian External Affairs Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, as well as Soviet and Indian ambassadors Viktor Isakov and Triloki Nath Kaul are also taking part in the Soviet-Indian talks, being held in a narrow circle.

Continues Talks

LD1507184489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1742 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jul (TASS)—Yet another meeting between the leaders of the USSR and India was held in the Kremlin today. The friendly dialogue between M.S. Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi has become a regular feature in relations between the two powers.

The interlocutors noted that in the slightly more than 6 months since their last meeting in Delhi, the rapid and varied development of world events confirmed the analysis that they had, during their constant exchange of views, been making for a number of years.

The talks touched upon virtually all the main problems that characterize the world situation at this time.

M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi shared impressions of their meetings with Western leaders, during the Soviet leader's recent visits to Great Britain, the FRG, and France, and the Indian leader's visit to Paris for the celebrations of the bicentenary of the French Revolution.

They noted an increase in the positive tendencies in the European process, including disarmament talks and slackening of military confrontation, although quite a few complex problems remain to be solved on the path toward a peaceful period in Europe.

In light of the ideas of the Delhi declaration, M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi expressed critical opinions of several views and concepts common in Western political circles.

Particular attention was paid to economic relations in the Asian-Pacific region and in the world as a whole, and to problems related to the "new world economic order" project. This problem was also touched upon in connection with the conference of the seven leading capitalist countries now being held in Paris. The conviction was expressed that a real solution to problems of worldwide import can only be found through their internationalization and through the active participation of the United Nations. Both leaders called for comprehensive support for UN authority and a reinforcement of its effectiveness.

The two states' relations with their neighbors were also discussed. A community of approach to an Afghan settlement and the need to counteract the policy that tends toward kindling war in Afghanistan were confirmed.

M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi noted the similarity of the positions adopted by the USSR and India in connection with the well-known events in China and their determination to continue developing good-neighborly relations with that great country.

Careful consideration was given to the most principal aspects of bilateral economic and scientific and technical links and to cooperation in the military sphere.

There was a lively and frank exchange of information and assessments of the internal changes in the two countries at the current phase. It emerged that an exchange of practical experience is useful in the approach to some acute problems.

R. Gandhi invited M.S. Gorbachev to pay an official visit to India next year. This once again emphasizes the unique nature of the constant interaction between the two friendly states.

The meeting of delegations lasted 4 hours, which was followed by a tete-a-tete meeting.

Taking part were: E.A. Shevardnadze, India's minister of external affairs P.V. Narasimha Rao, Ambassadors T.N. Kaul and V.F. Isakov, First Deputy Minister of External Affairs S.K. Singh, plenipotentiary minister of ambassador rank Prem K. Budhwar, secretaries in the prime minister's office R. Seni and G. Parthasarathi, and External Affairs Ministry department head R. Sikri.

Talks Summarized

BK1607031989 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] The prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and the Soviet President, Mr Gorbachev, have reviewed the entire gamut of issues covering the international, bilateral, regional, and neighborhood problems. During their 3 hours and 40 minutes of talks in Moscow yesterday [15 July], they covered several bilateral and international issues, including Pakistan, China, and India's policy with Nepal. Mr Gorbachev had shown understanding of India's position in its neighborhood during the wide-ranging talks.

The prime minister told Mr Gorbachev that India has always made efforts to improve its relations with the neighboring countries like Pakistan and China. Regarding China, he said our relations have improved and exchanges have taken place.

Mr Gorbachev explained in detail considerable changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union. Mr Gandhi appreciated the Soviet leader's efforts for the changes not only in the home front, but also in the international arena.

The Afghan issue was discussed at considerable length. It was agreed that any effort to seek a military solution would be futile. All the concerned parties should respect the provisions of the Geneva accords and move for normalization of the situation.

Mr Gandhi apprised the Soviet president of the discussions he had in Paris on North-South dialogue with leaders of G-7 group and others. Mr Gorbachev expressed the view that there is need for such dialogue. The Soviet President said philosophically we are in tune with you. Mr Gandhi told Mr Gorbachev that based on the Paris discussion, it will be possible to start negotiations on real economic issues.

Mr Gorbachev told Mr Gandhi in detail about the Soviet Union's efforts to improve relations with Iran. The Soviet President said Moscow attaches great importance

to its ties with Tehran. On west Asia, Mr Gorbachev said the Israeli attitude was stubborn in spite of positive developments in the region.

An official spokesman described the discussions as very cordial.

Welcoming Mr Gandhi to the talks, which were held at the Kremlin, Mr Gorbachev said he is happy to see Mr Gandhi in Moscow. AIR [All India Radio] special correspondent, D.P. Das, reports from Moscow that the talks which started immediately after Mr Gandhi's arrival in the Soviet capital continued during a private dinner hosted in honor of Mr Gandhi by Mr Gorbachev.

Gandhi Cited Prior to Departure

LD1607065389 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 16 TASS—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who has been staying in the Soviet Union on a friendly working visit, spoke highly of the state of Soviet-Indian relations in a TASS interview Sunday.

Speaking at the airport before leaving the Soviet capital, the Indian leader said that relations between the two countries are developing very dynamically and have reached a very high level.

Gandhi said that potentialities for their further upgrading have not been exhausted.

Gandhi Seen Off by Shevardnadze

LD1607055289 Moscow TASS in English 0548 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 16 TASS—Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India left Moscow today in the morning. He paid a friendly working visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

At the airport the Indian leader was seen off by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and other officials.

Events Related to Gandhi Visit Reported

Shevardnadze-Rao Talks Outlined

PM1607181789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ministers' Conversation"]

[Text] A conversation took place 15 July between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and N.V. Narasimha Rao, Indian foreign minister, in the framework of the friendly working visit to the Soviet Union by Prime Minister R. Gandhi of India. The ministers held a thorough exchange of opinions on a number of topical international problems including regional conflicts of special concern to the international community. In particular, they touched on questions of a settlement in Afghanistan and Cambodia.

During the discussion of the situation in and around Afghanistan it was stated that there are real preconditions for ending the bloodshed and achieving national reconciliation. For that, however, there must be a broad inter-Afghan dialogue involving the various political forces and currents. As is well known, just such a dialogue is advocated by the Republic of Afghanistan's Government. The sides strongly condemned the continuing interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

The sides noted with satisfaction the positive development of the process of resolving the conflict situation surrounding Cambodia.

The USSR and India confirmed their readiness to take an active part in the international conference on Cambodia which is being convened in Paris. They expressed the hope that the conference will help to achieve national reconciliation in Cambodia and the final political settlement of the Cambodian problem in the interests of that country's people and the cause of peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

During the conversation it was noted with satisfaction that there have been definite positive changes in Asia and the Pacific. The interlocutors advocated the further increasing of efforts aimed at strengthening security and establishing multifaceted cooperation in Asia and the Pacific. Some questions of Soviet-Indian bilateral cooperation in the international arena were also examined. The ministers confirmed the agreement to hold regular meetings.

Gandhi Interviewed Before USSR Visit

LD1507211989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1423 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Interview with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by B. Levchenko on 14 July; place not given—recorded; Gandhi speaks in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Levchenko] How do you see India's role in resolving today's global issues such as disarmament, the installation of a new international economic and political order, and ecology?

[Gandhi] Let me go first to the root of the problem, which is that the strong in this world continue to exploit the weak. If we turn to India's history, we see that our struggle for independence led to a victory over one form of colonialism, which is a system designed to keep weak countries weak. At that time we also embarked on the path of nonalignment. We believe that we have scored significant achievements on that path. We have taken a

leading role in disarmament. We have unfolded our plan at the United Nations. We note that the Soviet Union has invariably reacted positively to all our proposals, and in a number of cases it even goes beyond the substance of our appeals. I particularly welcome President Gorbachev's initiatives in the field of disarmament.

Going back to today's world order as a whole, one ought to say that the essence of the problem has principally remained unchanged. In colonial times, weaker nations were exploited; the flow of riches went from the weak to the strong. That situation persists even today. Although I am confident that disarmament and the introduction of new international relations will be the dominant tendency—and it is exactly the path we will trod in the future—it is impossible not to see new dangers. The first of them is the emergence of new economic blocs. I consider it to be a very dangerous tendency, dangerous above all for weaker countries. It has some elements of the colonial times 100 or 70 years ago. We should be very vigilant. The way out is not in setting up counterblocs but in taking multilateral steps aimed at uniting the world community. I am sure that the Soviet Union shares that view, and we would like to act jointly in that field.

About the issue of ecology. In this field as well, the developed countries tend to preach to the developing one, pointing out what they should not do to avoid the mistakes of the developed countries. We cannot afford to pay the price the developed countries continue to pay for damaging the environment. Therefore, a new, more sensible and balanced economic and ecological order is needed in the world.

[Levchenko] What is your assessment of the situation in Asia, i.e. regional issues of the continent and the way they are resolved, particularly in Afghanistan?

[Gandhi] In connection with Afghanistan, we placed enormous hopes on the Geneva accords. Unfortunately, in our view, these accords have been more often violated than complied with, and that is sad. Had the Geneva accords been fully implemented, we are certain that the situation in Afghanistan would now be completely back to normal. However, this is not the case. We still feel that the only real way to reach peace in Afghanistan lies in the observance of the Geneva accords. Over this entire period, we have supported and continue to support the Afghan Government. We can see that the Afghan Government is strong and has the situation in the country under its control.

On the whole, the situation in Asia has been returning to normal. Tensions are lower in its individual areas. We have been concerned with the Cambodian issue, but we can see that there, too, the events are taking the proper course. We are convinced that in the new international atmosphere the number of internal Asian problems will go down. Asia will become stronger and more united. [passage omitted]

[Levchenko] As a political leader, you enjoy a great deal of popularity among the Soviet people. What would you like to say to Soviet television viewers?

[Gandhi] Like I said, the people of the Soviet Union and India are seeking, each in their own fashion, a joint objective: to restructure international relations that are based on exploiting the weak. Each of our people have their own achievements. It is time now to join efforts. After all, an end has not yet been put to exploitation. We should rely on loftier principles than just economic profits. Economic progress is, of course, necessary, it is vital, but it must be strengthened by more profound principles in the name of which we live, for which we fought and must fight in the future. We want to work together, the Soviet Union and India, the people of the Soviet Union and the people of India.

Further on Gandhi Interview

LD1407173589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by B. Levchenko on 14 July; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Levchenko] What do you think about the current state of Soviet-Indian relations? What significance do your regular contacts with President Gorbachev at summit level have for the further development of relations? [video shows television correspondent sitting opposite Gandhi in a room]

[Gandhi, in English with superimposed Russian translation] I feel that Soviet-Indian relations bear exceptionally important significance, not only for our two countries but also for the situation in the entire world. The task today consists in struggling against the continuing exploitation and in ending that phenomenon. If such countries as the Soviet Union and India do not join efforts in that struggle, one can hardly count on success. Of course, our efforts alone will be insufficient. many other countries must follow us. I have been working with satisfaction with President Gorbachev in the past 4 years. I recall my first meeting with him in 1985 and our subsequent annual meetings. I think that never previously have there been such frequent contacts between our countries at such an important level. It is, I think, a somewhat rare phenomenon in world practice. Those meetings have helped us to work out a common approach to international problems such as disarmament and international relations, and have assisted in the joint work to find solutions for them. They are helping in the development of cooperation between our countries. Trade has reached a very high level and is developing fast. Our cooperation in the sphere of science and technology has reached new high levels also at a fast pace. We are today mastering such spheres of cooperation which we never dreamed of before. I see vast scope and a big future for relations between the Soviet Union and India.

USSR-Indian Ties Viewed

LD1507133689 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi arrived today in Moscow on a friendly working visit at the invitation of the Soviet leadership. Soviet-Indian negotiations have begun.

Observers in the two countries express hope that the current visit will help continue the dialogue of the two nations' leaders which began in 1985. Perestroyka, or restructuring, in the Soviet Union tells positively on the development of Soviet-Indian relations, opens up new areas for cooperation and helps create an atmosphere of friendship between the Soviet and Indian peoples who have displayed mutual interest in upgrading bilateral relations.

The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the development of comprehensive cooperation with India. Economic cooperation, along with the joint political documents signed by the Soviet Union and India, creates a solid material base for the Soviet-Indian links and imparts to them stability aimed at the perspective. One of the directions of the Soviet-Indian trade and economic relations is the establishment of joint ventures. It is obvious that the two countries may set up such ventures not only in the Soviet Union and India, but also in third countries, to the advantage of all interested parties.

In recent years, the range has considerably extended of Soviet-Indian cultural ties. In 1986, an agreement was reached in New Delhi on holding national festivals in India and the Soviet Union on an unprecedented scale. Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi became honorary chairmen of the preparatory organizing committees.

The Soviet Union and India attach high priority importance to the attainment of such major objectives as the extension of the process of easing international tension and the resolution of the problem of curtailing and eliminating nuclear weapons. The two countries have repeatedly expressed their interest in creating a zone of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

India supported the Soviet-American intermediate nuclear forces treaty and favors the conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on a fifty percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons. Great international significance has become attached to the plan of action—A program of setting up a nuclear-free and non-violent world—which the Indian prime minister put forth in the United Nations in June 1988. This document is consonant in many particulars with the Soviet proposals of January 15, 1986. It envisages a step-by-step elimination of nuclear weapons in the world by the year 2010 and is one of the concrete results of the process set in motion by the Delhi Declaration.

It can be expected with much certainty that the community of outlook will be once again confirmed and further developed at the current meeting of the two nations' leaders in Moscow.

General Kochetov to Visit Kuwait 17-20 Jul

LD1407091789 Moscow TASS in English 0746 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 14 TASS—The Soviet first deputy defence minister, Army General Konstantin Kochetov, will pay an official visit to Kuwait between July 17 and 20.

He will confer with Kuwaiti defence minister Shaykh Nawwaf al- Ahmad al-Jabir and other military leaders, and familiarise himself with how Kuwaiti troops' life and military training is organised.

General Kochetov said that Kuwait plays a noticeable stabilising role in the Middle East.

"We sincerely support Kuwait's practical steps to settle the conflict in that explosive region," he told TASS.

"The development of contacts between the USSR and Kuwait in the military field will help strengthen trust and improve mutual understanding beween the two nations," General Kochetov continued.

He expressed hope that his visit would usher in a new stage in establishing good relations between Soviet and Kuwaiti servicemen.

Kochetov, 57, is a professional military officer who has worked his way up from a platoon commander to commander of a military district and then on to first deputy defence minister.

He graduated from two military academies.

Commentary Examines Saudi-Iranian Relations

NC1407111589 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Andrey Krasnov commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, Iran's Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi and Majlis Speaker 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani have condemned the explosion in Mecca which killed one and wounded 16. At the same time, Iran's officials have strongly criticized the Saudi Government's policy on the hajj. These remarks have once again attracted world analysts' attention to the complicated relations between Tehran and Riyadh. Our commentator Andrey Krasnov writes on this:

The confrontation between Iran and Saudi Arabia is relatively deep-rooted. Even during the shah's regime, Tehran and Riyadh were rivals in the Islamic world, and they struggled to increase their influence in the Persian

Gulf and Near East. The victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran intensified this rivalry considerably. The Saudi officials considered Tehran's foreign policy, which was stated after the victory of the Islamic revolution, a serious threat to their international and domestic political stands. The policy of exporting the Islamic revolution to other countries, which was being implemented by the Iranian leadership, aroused special concern in Riyadh. The Saudi ruling circles considered this policy tantamout to serious hostility to the Saudi regime and its ideology. After Iran's propaganda organs intensified their references to the dire situation of the oppressed Shi'ites in Saudi Arabia, relations between the two countries deteriorated. Riyad perceived this as an effort to inflict a blow on Saudi Arabia's claim to play the role of the leader of the Arab world and the defender of its interests. As a result, Saudi Arabia began to overtly support Baghdad in the Iran-Iraq war. This led to the complete severence of relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Saudi Arabia.

However, the political confrontation between the two countries did not end here. Even more, the two countries' confrontation entered a new phase with the hajj at the center of the conflict.

Both sides tried to use this issue for their own benefit, and this led to the destabilization of the situation in Mecca and harsh steps during the hajj. The bloodiest conflicts in Mecca took place exactly 2 years ago in July 1987. At that time, while participants in anti-U.S. demonstrations were being dispersed, 402 pilgrims were killed, most of them Iranians. After this unpleasant incident, Iran termed Saudi Arabia the small Satan and a U.S. accomplice and started to boycott the hajj.

This year, the Iranian Government has once again referred to this issue. Iran's officials have called on Muslims from various countries to demonsrate in Mecca and Medina under the slogans of "Death to America" and "Death to Israel." Iran has also condemned the Saudi Government's pro-U.S. policy and has pointed out that Saudi Arabia is Washington's major economic and political partner in the Islamic world.

Apparently all this means that conflict between the two countries continues. Nevertheless, naturally the governments of Iran and Saudi Arabia should seek a logical compromise and look toward the future instead of living in the past.

East Europe

Reportage on Kadar Funeral Ceremony Events

Ligachev Departs for Ceremony

LD1307155789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Ligachev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and A.F. Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee member, left Moscow today for Budapest to attend the funeral of Janos Kadar. They were seen off at the airport by Chebrikov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and other officials.

Ligachev, Nyers Pay Tribute to Kadar

PM1507174189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "A Staunch Communist: Hungary Bids Farewell to Janos Kadar"]

[Text] Budapest, 14 Jul—For 2 days an endless stream of people has been pouring into the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee building, where Janos Kadar's coffin is displayed. People have come to the capital from all parts of Hungary to pay their last respects to the staunch communist and outstanding figure of the Hungarian and international workers' movement.

At the MSZMP Central Committee building there was a mourning ceremony in which representatives of communist and workers parties and state and public figures from various countries attending Janos Kadar's funeral took part. They included a CPSU delegation headed by Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The ceremony was opened by R. Nyers, chairman of the MSZMP. Ye.K. Ligachev also addressed the assembly.

Ye.K. Ligachev's Speech

Esteemed Comrades!

Today we bid a final farewell to Janos Kadar. History will put everything in its place and give an impartial evaluation of this brilliant individual. It is important for us to view his activity through a contemporary's eyes. And, lest we err, we should approach this as Vladimir Ilich Lenin taught us: "Historical merits are judged," Lenin observed, "not by what historical figures failed to do in comparison with contemporary requirements but by what they did that was new in comparison with their predecessors."

Comrade Kadar's life was long and difficult. He did not manage to accomplish all his dreams and strivings. Indeed, such things do not happen. One thing is clear: His whole life was completely and utterly devoted to serving the cause of the working people and to the consistent struggle for the interests of socialism, the consolidation of peace, and the relaxation of tension. Assuming the historic responsibility for the fate of socialism during the difficult trials of 1956, Janos Kadar along with Hungarian communists and all the people brought Hungary to new, high levels of public and socioeconomic development and strengthened its international prestige.

The news of his death caused pain in the hearts of Soviet people. Janos Kadar was a frequent visitor to our country and participated in the work of CPSU congresses. He

is well known and appreciated in the Soviet Union for doing so much to strengthen Soviet-Hungarian friendship and develop cooperation and collaboration among the socialist community countries. We will remember his phrase, which became a byword: "There is no anti-Soviet communism; there has never been, and there will never be." His fervent approval of restructuring in the Soviet Union is well known.

Life has lost a communist who organically combined the qualities of a major politician of international stature with the wisdom, tempering, and modesty of an ordinary worker, as he was when he began his career. He combined ideological principle and honesty with political flexibility, the dignity of a Hungarian patriot with a developed sense of internationalism and respect for other peoples.

Budapest, may the name and deeds of Janos Kadar unite the ranks of the MSZMP and all the people of the country in the name of socialist renewal and the prosperity of socialist Hungary. Soviet people's feelings and their sympathies with their Hungarian friends are reflected in the message from the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet and in the words of sincere condolence from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the communists and all the working people of Hungary on our common heavy loss—the death of Janos Kadar.

We shall preserve in our memory the radiant image of the staunch communist and wise man, true son of the Hungarian people, and friend of the Soviet Union that Janos Kadar was, the speaker said in conclusion.

G.C. Pajetta, member of the Italian Communist Party leadership, and K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, also spoke words of farewell at the MSZMP Central Committee.

The funeral procession accompanying the deceased's coffin passed through the whole capital. Tens of thousands of Budapest people took to the streets at this sorrowful hour to bid farewell to the man with whose name a whole era of Hungarian history is linked.

The funeral meeting held at the pantheon of the workers' movement at the central cemetery in Budapest was addressed by Bruno F. Straub, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council, P. Kollath, a worker at the Hungarian ship and crane building plant, and R. Nyers, chairman of the MSZMP.

R. Nyers' speech

The name of Janos Kadar is inseparably linked with the cause of all Hungarians and the service of international progress. Outstanding successes, graphic results, and unsuccessful attempts were his lot. He did not shirk from his principles but preserved them within him as a vivifying force. He campaigned for socialism with a human face and a just and free society in which people of the most diverse world outlooks could live.

J. Kadar was simultaneously a significant Hungarian politician of the second half of the 20th century and for decades an outstanding statesman, a party leader always true to his ideas who worked for the sake of man, the people, and the party. Proclaiming "Who is not against us is with us" after the tragic events of 1956, he became, thanks to the successes of the policy of consolidation, the kind of individual in international politics and the workers movement whose opinion cannot be ignored. In the eyes of Hungarian and international public opinion he won respect as a politician of everlasting credit in the development of the Helsinki process and East-West dialogue.

As one committed to dialogue, J. Kadar sought to win different social strata to his side. The regulation of relations between the state and the church or the development in the sixties of freedom of creativity in art confirmed that everyone has a place in the home that bears the name of Hungary and that everyone's creative energy is needed in building the future society.

To the end of his life the Hungarian leader remained a modest and simple man who opposed the promotion of his personality. That is why the whole country respected him so much. Such a likable and modest man would be needed very much today, too.

Hungarian communists remember J. Kadar as a man always ready to strive for accord in the interests of national reconciliation. They do not forget the Hungary of the sixties and seventies, which international and Hungarian public opinion considered the forerunner of renewal. His life, full of struggle, teaches us the need to know our history and respect our values, because without that it is impossible to preserve respect in ourselves.

That conclusion is also true in view of the difficult situation that the country is in today. A considerable proportion of today's problems are rooted in the past—in the poorly elaborated concepts, the half-accomplished plans, the mistakes, half-truths, and fears. That part of the past era was also marked by incorrect verdicts and failures. It is necessary to acknowledge the mistakes that have been made and to draw the lessons from the past. The birth of the new is always difficult and responsible. Hungary has embarked on a new and untried path and progress along it is difficult. We must replace the exchange of opinions and discussions imbued with alarm for the future by a cohesion which serves to elevate the nation.

Janos Kadar will be missed not just by me but by the whole country. He pursued the kind of policy which was aimed not at dividing but at uniting people in the interests of developing the motherland, the chairman of the MSZMP said in conclusion.

Budapest, the last respects were observed as Janos Kadar's coffin was lowered into the grave. A band played the Internationale. A subunit of the Budapest garrison honor guard marched past solemnly.

On the same day there was a meeting between R. Nyers, chairman of the MSZMP, and K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, and Ye.K. Ligachev and A.F. Dobrynin.

The Hungarian side expressed deep gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet public for the condolences on the death of J. Kadar.

During the conversation some questions of Soviet-Hungarian relations were also broached in the context of the forthcoming visit to Moscow by R. Nyers and K. Grosz.

B.I. Stukalin, USSR ambassador to Hungary, took part in the conversation.

Ligachev Comments After Ceremony

LD1407223289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent Shirokov]

[Text] Today, the people of Hungary are saying farewell to Janos Kadar, that outstanding figure of the international communist and workers' movement. Our correspondent Shirokov reports:

[Shirokov] In the streets of Budapest, throughout Hungary, there are mourning flags. The country is bidding farewell to its faithful son, with whose name Hungarian history of recent decades is closely bound. For a second day, an endless stream of people has been approaching the building of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, where the coffin containing Janos Kadar's body is placed on a pedestal. Delegations have come to Budapest from more than 30 countries. A wreath was laid by Comrade Ligachev, head of the Soviet delegation, CPSU Central Committee member Dobrynin, and the USSR's ambassador to Hungary, Stukalin. After the mourning ceremony was over, Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev gave a short interview:

[Begin Ligachev recording] I should like to emphasize that representatives of various countries, political parties, and social movements came to the funeral. There has just been an exchange of views. Many people said how much they appreciated Janos Kadar, and spoke warmly and with human feeling about his activity. I also repeatedly met with Janos Kadar, both here in Hungary and at home in Moscow, and all of us, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and all of the Politburo members, have the sincerest of feelings for this man. I was always struck by his wisdom, his steadfastness, his internationalism and his patriotism. I think that Janos Kadar's name and cause will continue to unite the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to unite all Hungarian communists and the entire Hungarian people, in the interests of socialist renewal, in the interests of the prosperity of socialist Hungary. [end recording]

Ligachev, Dobrynin Depart Budapest

LD1507140889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1327 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, 15 Jul (TASS)—Today Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.F. Dobrynin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, who took part in the funeral of Janos Kadar, left Budapest.

P. Ivanyi, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Political Executive Committee, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and officials saw them off at the airport.

B.I. Stukalin, USSR ambassador to the Hungarian People's Republic, was among the seeing-off party.

During the stay in Budapest, A.F. Dobrynin, advisor to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met with M. Szveros, chairman of the Hungarian State Assembly. The development of interparliamentary contacts between the two countries was discussed during the conversation.

There was also a meeting between A.F. Dobrynin and G. Horn, member of the MSZMP Political Executive Committee, and Hungarian foreign minister, at which the sides exchanged opinions on certain topical international matters.

Ligachev, Dobrynin Arrive in Moscow

LD1507152189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1458 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jul (TASS)—Yegor Ligachev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Anatoliy Dobrynin, member of the CPSU Central Committe who attended the funeral of Janos Kadar, today arrived in Moscow from Budapest.

At the airport they were met by Viktor Chebrikov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and by other officials.

Among the welcoming part was J. Barabas, interim charge d'affaires of the Hungarian People's Republic to the USSR.

Soviet Forces in Hungary Discuss Reforms

18070686 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jul 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel A. Borovkov, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "Under Conditions of Policy Renewal"]

[Text] The processes that are occurring in Hungary now hardly lend themselves to a clear and simple assessment. The introduction of a multiparty system, measures undertaken to improve the economy of the country, and the interest in a revision of the political events of 30 years ago—all of this, undoubtedly, leaves its imprint on the life of the republic.

These questions cannot but interest the commanders and the political workers of the Southern Group of Forces. The Political Directorate of the YuGV [Southern Group of Forces] conducted a seminar with the leaders of Marxist-Leninist groups for training officers of directorates, units, and individual subunits, where Lt Gen R. Gorelov, a member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the YuGV, gave a speech.

It is noteworthy that V. Stukalin, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR to Hungary, and Col E. Khauber, chairman of the Main Political Directorate of the VNA [Hungarian People's Army], took part in the seminar and gave speeches.

SFRY Criticizes U.S. Aid Bill Addendum

PM1007100989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS Report: "Concern Expressed"]

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jul—TANJUG reports that the U.S. ambassador to the SFRY was invited Wednesday [5 July] to the SFRY Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. B. Loncar, head of Yugoslavia's foreign policy department, expressed "surprise and concern" to the ambassador over the U.S. Congress House of Representatives' adoption of an addendum to the law on aid to foreign countries which speaks of the alleged violation of human rights, primarily the rights of Albanians, in Yugoslavia, and the restriction of Kosovo's autonomy.

The U.S. ambassador was told that the House of Representatives decision interprets inaccurately, one-sidedly, and tendentiously individual aspects of the situation in Yugoslavia and also that in this and other cases it ignores the essence of the problem in Kosovo, in particular the position of Serbs, Montenegrins, and representatives of other nationalities in that autonomous province. Here it persistently ignores the fact that in accordance with the SFRY state structure Albanians have equal rights, just as Kosovo enjoys full autonomy.

These actions of the United States, B. Loncar noted, objectively play into the hand of nationalist and separatist elements in Kosovo, which contradicts the U.S. side's statement concerning its support for Yugoslavia's sovereignty and integrity. The SFRY Government's concern was also generated to a considerable degree by the fact that the United States is taking this step at a time when Yugoslavia is making enormous efforts to implement profound reforms on a democratic basis, B. Loncar stressed.

Reasons for PZPR Election Defeat Viewed

26000559 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 22 Jun 89 p 7

[Article by Irina Pirogova, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA special correspondent: "Time To Gather Stones"]

[Text] Could we say that the failure of the party coalition in the elections came as a surprise to the members of the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party], both those holding responsible positions in the Central Committee and the government, and the rank-and-file? It is hard to give an unambiguous answer to this question.

Over the time of somewhat less than a month which I spent in Poland I happened to meet and talk with responsible party and state functionaries, journalists, culture and art personalities, and to visit Czestochowa, Olsztyn, and Gdansk in addition to Warsaw. In a word, I had an opportunity to observe the preelection atmosphere in the country, as they say, from the inside, and relate what I saw to what I was told. The first thing which leaped at me was the altogether exuberant vigor of the Solidarity election campaign. Its posters, appeals, and declarations covered up the walls of houses, shop windows, bridge spans, and tree trunks—in a word, any flat space to which something could be glued. Everything was dominated by group portraits of the leader of Solidarity, as they would say, "in an embrace" with its candidates: Lech Walesa and well-known actor Andrzej Lapicki, Lech Walesa and economist from Gdansk, Solidarity expert Krzysztof Bielecki, Lech Walesa and architect from Sopot Krzysztof Dowgiello, and so forth.

Activists of the Solidarity Civic Committee (SCC) handed out propaganda materials—handbills, lists of candidates—eagerly and free of charge, especially in front of churches. On the TV screen faces already familiar from the posters appeared continuously; you have to give it to them—they communicated with the TV audience in a very professional manner (according to the terms accepted at the roundtable, Solidarity receives one 30-minute program a week on TV and a 1-hour program on the radio, and within the framework of the election campaign it received 23 percent of the air time). GAZETA WYBORCZA of Solidarity also played its appointed role.

It is impossible to deny that Solidarity propagandists made very skillful use of the word both in the press and in visual agitation. On the election day in Gdansk, I

encountered many times the following pronouncement among a lot of Solidarity proclamations, appeals, and information bulletins: "Only the best would do for Gdansk." At first glance, it does not appear to be something special. If you think, though, it becomes clear that this and similar slogans are aimed at bringing out in the inhabitants of the city a feeling of superiority over other citizens of the country, sow the feeling of collective egoism, and the conviction that Gdansk allegedly has special rights and privileges.

In the rampage of preelection advertising, in the chorus of well-trained voices, the candidates of the coalition sort of got lost, and were relegated to the background, or further yet.

"How did it happen? How is this to be explained?" I asked my authoritative interlocutors. The answers were different, and each one of them was an adequate characteristic of the person giving it.

"The PZPR expects that by the end of the election campaign Solidarity will run out of gas, and this is when we enter the fight," said some.

"Solidarity is repeating our mistakes. The people have become tired of slogans in 45 years, tired of direct pressure on their conscience; this is why we count on their reason and wisdom," said others.

A bitter admission by a PZPR Central Committee functionary on the eve of the election came as a revelation:

"The weakness of our preelection agitation is caused by the bewilderment of the apparatus. This is a consequence of getting used over many years to elections as simple voting, when the results were a foregone conclusion, when our candidates did not have to fight for their social authority, when it sufficed to say: He is a good comrade, he is ours. Unfortunately, at present very few people are with us who cooperate with the party sincerely and selflessly. There are no people popular in all strata of society among our candidates—I mean well-known writers, actors, and singers capable of speaking to the people in their own language. Besides, Solidarity is receiving weighty support from the West, not only material and technical, but also ideological. It is no accident that on the eve of the elections American political scientist and Sovietologist Zbigniew Brzezinski, famous American singer Stevie Wonder and Yves Montand, who accepted the invitation by Andrzej Lapicki, came to Poland..."

Bitter as it is to acknowledge, the coalition indeed suffered a serious defeat. The reckoning was brought on by the burden of many years of mistakes and errors, the difficult Stalin-Bierut heritage, which in the eyes of many generations has not lost its gloomy destructive power, despite the PZPR conference held in May openly raising the issue of their negative consequences in Poland. After all, the frightening losses inflicted on the socialist countries by the influence of Stalin, Beriya, and his apparatus are not a secret anymore for anyone—the consequences and limits of this influence are hard to determine even now. This is why the interest of the Polish public in this topic is so painfully heightened. They are saying here: Since Roy Medvedev has written the book "Stalin's People," this means that someone here should write the book "Bierut's People."

The truth and nothing but the truth may win back the trust of the people, the truth without silent omissions, without black-and-white pictures, without manipulating historical facts. After all, this process has affected both us and the Poles, regardless of the generation, having produced certain stereotypes of perceiving history, which now cannot be broken down painlessly.

Several years ago, on a trip to Krakow, having visited the tomb of Jozef Pilsudski and seen the truly universal adoration with which it was treated, I, at the time a person informed about Polish history only by my school and college textbooks, was at a loss: How come in a fraternal country they worship a sworn enemy of the Soviet power? I think I was not the only one with such doubts. After all, the Polish postwar propaganda also painted Pilsudski as a reactionary and anti-Soviet figure. It turns out that some of those evaluations were very lopsided and superficial. Certainly, there are no grounds to believe that the head of prewar Poland was a friend of the Soviet Union. However, we should not forget that, for example, Pilsudski was one of the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party, which cooperated with the RSDRP [Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party] as early as the 1905 revolution. It recently became known that during the civil war Pilsudski refused to deal with the top brass of the White Guards, clearly perceiving that the restoration of Russian monarchy would have posed a great danger for Poland. As they say, you cannot drop a word out of a song. For some reason, facts were omitted from history with great ease. This is a disease we share, and we have yet to cure it by our joint efforts.

It is not worthwhile to search history for examples paralleling what is happening in Poland at present. There are none. The optimism which we were so fond of quite recently is all the more unacceptable in this kind of situation. However, as the Russian saying goes, one person who has been bruised is worth two who have not.

Having risen to the peak of power, Solidarity has accumulated formidable experience in criticizing the PZPR program and the government system. As far as a constructive program, and a clear vision of the path which can lead out of the economic and social crisis are concerned, the proponents of Lech Walesa thus far have offered nothing definite to their fellow countrymen, except, of course, their hopes for Western "aid" (62 percent of the citizens of the country took part in the first round of voting, and even fewer took part in the second round; this means that a large segment of the populace is indifferent, trusts neither side, and waits to see what is going to happen). To some degree, this "aid" has already

materialized—let us recall the fate of the Gdansk Shipyard, the majority share in which was purchased by the widow of an American multimillionaire.

It is apparent at present that Solidarity has not avoided this sin. It is another matter that in the environment of political struggle nomenclature is unavoidable. However, it is difficult to explain how the nomenclature of Lech Walesa is better than the old one to the citizens of the country who are tired of the pressure brought to bear by the bureaucracy, and have not yet received specific economic returns on changes in the political situation. After all, the pace at which this system regenerates itself is common knowledge.

I also think that many Poles gave their votes to Solidarity not out of particular love for Lech Walesa and his comrades-in-arms, but rather as an expression of disagreement with the order of things currently existing in the economy.

It was difficult to venture a bold prediction of how the events would develop after the second round of elections. However, common sense suggested that, since the PZPR and coalition parties had deliberately agreed to legalize the constructive opposition, the latter, having acquired this considerable political power, would not see it fit to reject this principle, maintaining cooperation with the PZPR on the conditions of democracy and pluralism.

Two weeks after the second round of voting ended, this reasoning was confirmed. Since the SCC had already taken virtually all the seats reserved for it according to the roundtable accords, the opposition, according to a statement by the spokesman of the Warsaw Solidarity committee, considered the second round to be a formality.

Thus, the problem of creating a broad coalition of main social forces based on an agreement on primary issues, most significant for the country, presented by First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, is being endowed with real content.

"One person who has been bruised is worth two who have not..." This is a paradox: by now the PZPR has become considerably younger and... wiser. You perceive that when you see the collected manner in which many members of the party, without wringing their hands, received the defeat which they consider deserved, without separating their fate from that of the party, the people, and the state.

"The issue is not only and not mostly what we have been. The issue is what we are going to be, what kind of qualitative changes are under way at present within every one of us, because only then will the entire party change. To paraphrase Ilya Ilf, I may say: We have been fighting for cleanliness too long instead of sweeping," told me Jerzy Lipinski, an executive official of the political information commission of the PZPR Central Committee.

...Sooner or later, "the time to gather stones" comes. It has also come to Poland. The people have stated convincingly that they do not want to live the old way. Time will show what the new path is going to be, which requires unanimity, selflessness, and highly intensive work by all citizens. One thing is clear: You cannot count on a miracle, and nobody will help Poland but the Poles themselves, because "life on credit" has to be paid for dearly.

Having gone through a severe test, the party intends to show the entire society that it remains the driving force of the reforms.

In a recent conversation with journalists, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the honesty and consistency of the party shown at the roundtable talks and during the elections, as well as the future turn of events, would be the best proof of the fact that the PZPR has been and remains the force inspiring the development of Poland, and implementing the reforms aimed at reinforcing socialism in the country.

May it be so!

West Europe

Nuclear Submarine Incident Off Norway Reported

Yazov Denies Accident

LD1707100189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0926 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul, (TASS)—TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Dmitriy Yazov, the USSR minister of defense, stated today that there has been no accident on a Soviet submarine in the Barents Sea north of the Kola Bay. A Norwegian ship took the diesel exhaust for a fire.

As the minister, who is participating in the work of the Supreme Soviet, explained to a TASS parliamentary correspondent, on Sunday, at 1125 Moscow time, during combat training exercises on a nuclear submarine 50 km north of the Kola Bay, the emergency protection system of the main power unit was activated. As the full load was being switched to battery, one of the battery's cells short-circuited. The submarine surfaced. The diesel engines were switched on, and this led to exhaust emissions. A Norwegian surface vessel that is constantly in the area gathering intelligence spotted the exhaust trail. It took these fumes for a fire.

The minister went on to say that the escort ship "Gromkiy" and rescue tug SB-406 were in the same area. Having checked out its main power unit system and

accumulator batteries, the submarine began heading for base under its own steam at 2330 Moscow time and moored at its base early this morning at 0440 Moscow time.

There were not accidents or other incidents, the minister emphasized. "The Norwegians took simple diesel exhaust fumes as a fire," explained the USSR defense minister.

USSR Defense Ministry Comments

LD1707114589 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—In connection with reports of Western mass media on an alleged accident with a Soviet submarine, a TASS correspondent has contacted the Soviet Defence Ministry.

He was told that a Soviet general-purpose nuclear-powered submarine was on a training mission in the area north of the Kola Gulf on July 16. The tasks it fulfilled included those connected with the use of a diesel-generator. After the training mission was over, the submarine returned to the base on its own, propelled by the main power unit. No anomalous phenomena are observed on board the submarine.

Norwegian Official Discusses 'Accident'

AU1607194989 Paris AFP in English 1909 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Oslo, July 16 (AFP) - A Soviet nuclear submarine was in difficulty in Soviet waters off Norway on Sunday in the third accident aboard a Soviet nuclear submarine in four months, the Norwegian news agency NTB said Sunday.

Smoke was said to be coming from the submarine, about 120 kilometres (70 miles) east of Vardoe, Norway, in the Barents Sea.

It was not yet clear whether a fire had broken out aboard the Alfa-type submarine, which was being assisted by a tugboat and was surrounded by several other Soviet Navy ships.

The Alfa-class submarine first got into difficulty at 1700 local time (1500 GMT) Sunday. It is believed to have two nuclear reactors, torpedoes and SS-N-15 anti-submarine missiles.

A Norwegian ship near the stricken submarine informed the Norwegian authorities. The Norwegian Foreign Ministry said it had contacted the Soviet Embassy here for information on a possible radiation hazard.

Norwegian coastguards were not taking part in the rescue operation as the submarine was in Soviet territorial waters.

Norwegian Defence Ministry spokesman Enrik Senstad said the Soviet authorities had not warned Oslo of the accident. In the two previous incidents the Norwegian authorities also complained that Moscow was too slow in informing them about the accidents.

On Sunday Mr. Senstad expressed regret at the failure to pass on information, but stressed that the situation was not dramatic. He said a Norwegian ship would take samples of water in international waters near the scene of the accident to check for radioactive contamination.

The 2,900-tonne submarine measures 80 metres (264 feet) long and 33 metres wide. The Alfa series was launched in 1970.

Alfa-class submarines have a liquid metal cooling system like the Mike-class Soviet nuclear submarine that caught fire and sank in international waters off the Norwegian coast on April 7, claiming 42 lives.

The submarine, the Komsomolets, went down with two nuclear reactors and two nuclear-tipped torpedoes aboard.

The April 7 disaster was followed by another accident aboard a Soviet nuclear submarine off Norway three weeks later.

The second submarine, a nuclear-powered Echo-2 type built in the 1960's and believed to carry nuclear cruise missiles, was towed back to its base in Murmansk, on the Kola peninsula, after a reactor cooling pipe ruptured on June 26, according to Soviet authorities.

Norwegian pilots, however, said they saw a fire aboard the vessel.

The second incident claimed no victims, but four seamen suspected have been exposed to dangerous radiation were later hospitalized. Moscow said they showed no sign of radiation sickness.

The most serious nuclear submarine accident on record except the Komsomolets disaster was the 1986 sinking of a Soviet Yankee-class vessel near Bermuda carrying 32 nuclear warheads and two nuclear-tipped torpedoes.

According to the U.S. Navy, the Soviet Union suffered more than 200 serious submarine accidents between 1975 and 1985.

At least 50 nuclear weapons and nine nuclear reactors have been lost on the ocean bottom in U.S. and Soviet naval accidents since World War II, according to the ecological movement Greenpeace.

At least 27 nuclear-powered submarines have sunk since the war including five Soviet, four U.S., four French and three British submarines, according to Greenpeace. Submarines from West Germany, Israel, Pakistan, Peru, Spain and Turkey also sank during the same period.

Yakovlev, Others Attend French Reception

LD1407201189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jul (TASS)—Jean-Marie Merillon, ambassador of the French Republic to the Soviet Union, gave a reception today on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the taking of the Bastille by the people of Paris.

Present at the reception were Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials.

FRG Parliamentarian Meets Falin, Other Officials

LD1307031589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1156 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jul (TASS)—Karl Lamers, deputy of the FRG Bundestag and chairman of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union group in the Bundestag Commission for Disarmament and Arms Control, was in the Soviet Union 9-12 July at the invitation of the Committee for European Security and Cooperation.

During his visit, Lamers met Valentin Falin, chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; Viktor Karpov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, advisor to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The visitor was received in the academic institutes of Europe, the United States and Canada, and the World Economy and International Relations. In conversations, issues related to progress of the implementation of the Helsinki Accords, the processes of disarmament in Europe and the Vienna talks on conventional armaments, confidence-building and security in Europe, and prospects for building the all-European home were examined.

FRG Firm To Make Computers For Armenian Republic

LD1607174489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Summary] An agreement on a new joint enterprise for the production of personal computers has been signed in Yerevan by Yuliy Abovyan, director of the interbranch institute for the raising of qualifications in the State Committee for People's Education of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and Jean-Louis Bagdasaryan, a representative of the West German firm Ararat Brokerage Company.

The enterprise is to produce 7,000 computers this year, 3,000 of which are intended for schools. In accordance with the agreement, the latter will be sold at half price.

Belousov Stops in Cyprus En Route to Baghdad

NC1407152489 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek 1500 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the military industrial commission, stopped over at Larnaca airport today en route to Baghdad. Belousov stayed at the airport for approximately 1 hour and was welcomed by Defense Minister Andreas Alonevtis on behalf of the Cyprus Government and by Soviet Ambassador in Nicosia Yuriy Fokin. Belousov was accompanied by a delegation of many senior Soviet officials.

Alonevtis held a cordial conversation with the Soviet deputy chairman on questions of common interest.

Italian Communists Complete USSR Visit

PM1307155989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for party exchange between the CPSU and the Italian Communist Party [PCI] a delegation of secretaries from PCI regional committees and federations led by U. Mazza, member of the PCI Central Committee, was in the USSR 2 through 12 July.

The delegation visited Moscow, the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and Smolensk, had meetings and conversations in the CPSU Central Committee Department of Party Building and Cadre Work and the International Department, in the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Smolensk Oblast CPSU Committee, and in IZVESTIYA's editorial office, and became acquainted with the experience of the work of industrial and agricultural enterprises in conditions of economic reform.

The Italian comrades showed a lively interest in the results of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and the progress of restructuring in the sphere of politics, economics, and interethnic relations.

Spanish Trade Delegation Ends Visit

LD1407223789 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 14 TASS—An extensive range of questions concerning Soviet-Spanish economic cooperation was discussed in the course of the visit, which concluded today, of a Spanish business quarters delegation headed by Jose Aransadi Martinez, minister of industry and power engineering. The delegation conducted negotiations with several Soviet departments and organizations on the expansion of bilateral trade, the

development of joint ventures and scientific and technical cooperation in machine tool building, the industry of means of communcaitons, the oil and gas industry, fishing and other branches of the economy.

Thus, during a meeting with the minister of the Soviet coal industry, Mikhail Shadov, the Spanish delegation reached an agreement on ways to implement the project of joint production of ceramic plates from coal-enrichment factory wastes. Successful cooperation was noted between specialists of the two countries in developing new mining equipment for working coal deposits in Spain.

Apart from Moscow, the delegation visited Leningrad, where its members got acquainted with the activity of some industrial enterprises of the city on the Neva River.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Ministry of Interior Cadre Reshuffled

PM1707114589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Major Cadre Changes"]

[Text] Major cadre changes have been made in the Cuban Ministry of the Interior. As is noted in a report carried in GRANMA, Division General Pascual Martinez Gil, first vice minister of the Ministry of the Interior; Division General German Barreiro Carames, chief of the Ministry of the Interior Intelligence Directorate; and a number of other highly placed officials occupying responsible posts in the ministry have tendered their resignations. Romarico Sotomayor, candidate member of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Central Committee and previously chief of staff of the Eastern Army, has been appointed vice minister of the interior. Division General Jesus Bermudez Cutino, member of the PCC Central Committee and previously chief of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces Intelligence Directorate, has been appointed chief of the Ministry of the Interior Intelligence Directorate, the report says. By earlier decision of the PCC Central Committee Politburo Corps General Abelardo Colome Ibarra has been appointed the country's minister of the interior. As has already been reported, a trial recently took place of a group of former officers of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces and Ministry of the Interior who were found guilty of smuggling drugs and committing serious state crimes.

Cuban Officials To Be Executed for State Crimes

PM1307153189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "F. Castro Speech"]

[Text] Havana, 12 Jul—Cuban television today broadcast the speech made by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Cuban Council of State and Council of Ministers, at the Council of State session held last Sunday [9 Jul].

The members of the Council of State discussed the possibility of commuting the sentence of four former officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the Internal Affairs Ministry condemned to death for drugs smuggling and other state crimes. As already reported, the session rejected the appeal of Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, former general of a Revolutionary Armed Forces division, Antonio De La Guardia, former colonel with the Internal Affairs Ministry, and their closest aides, Amado Padrona Trujillo and Jorge Martinez Valdez, all sentenced to the firing squad.

The Cuban leader stressed that the revolution has no alternative than to severely punish those guilty of such serious crimes against the state and the revolution. Despite the wishes of some members of the Cuban public and a number of well-known international figures, in this instance the revolution cannot show magnanimity without damaging itself. Explaining the reasons for the decision taken with regard to those sentenced, F. Castro stressed that Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez and the others have done serious political damage to the revolution by their actions and jeopardized its international authority and trust in it. What is more, they have caused the country economic damage, particularly in terms of the development of foreign tourism on the island, from which Cuba plans to generate a large foreign currency revenue.

The decision taken on the prisoners' case, F. Castro pointed out, was a collective one. He stressed that although the Council of State has the right to make the final decision, consultations on this question were held with all persons holding important posts in the leadership. Members of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, the Cuban Council of Ministers, and other of the republic's leading bodies expressed their opinions. In this connection only 10 of the 162 members of the Central Committee, for example, opposed the decision. Conferences of deputies from Cuba's National Assembly of People's Power were also held, and they supported the decision of the special military tribunal.

With regard to the future of the children and other close relatives of the condemned men, F. Castro gave assurances that they were and will remain citizens of the republic with full rights. The revolution, he stressed, will never encroach on their legal rights.

Attack on USSR Fishermen in Peru Condemned

LD1507005889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Peruvian Communists have firmly condemned the terrorist act carried out by the Peruvian reaction against Soviet fishermen. As has been reported, the terrorists placed a charge of dynamite under a bus in which there were Soviet fishermen from several trawlers.

In the announcement by the Peruvian Communist Party Central Committee, it is pointed out that this crime pursues the aim of undermining relations between Peru and the socialist countries.

Committee Condemns Colombian Political Violence

PM1307142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[Statement by the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Latin American Peoples: "Drastic Measures Are Needed]

[Text] Blood is flowing in Columbia, more abundantly every year. Last year, according to official statistics, there were 4,600 victims of political violence. About half of those killed were peasants. An "internal war," unleashed by the oligarchy many years ago, is being waged against them. The activists of the coalition of left-wing parties and organizations, with the participation of the Communists—the Patriotic Union—come next, after the peasants. The people killed include Jaime Pardo Leal, president of its national coordination committee, around 30 deputies, and many municipal advisors and mayors.

The organizers of the "dirty war" and the leaders of the "death squads," and other ultra-right-wing formations and their hired killers, feel that they can go unpunished. The response to the terror of the right was the armed struggle which has continued for many years and left-wing extremism.

In the past few years, victims of political terror also included representatives of the ruling circles and their law-enforcement organs, waging an unequal struggle against the powerful narcotics mafia. As a "shadow economy," it is trying to become part of the state structure. In the past year the narcotics business has "enriched" the country's economy with $2 billion and even proposed that it would pay off the gigantic foreign debt. The narcotics mafia carries out reprisals against its opponents. The minister of justice, a member of the supreme court, a director of the biggest newspaper ESPECTADOR, and, a few days ago, Antonio Roldan Betancur, governor of the department of Antioquia were killed. Many prosecutors and judges are leaving the country through fear for their own lives and those of their relatives.

The violence is escalating and the impression is being formed that certain forces are trying to take the attention of the 30 million strong population of Colombia away from the urgent resolution of pressing social problems by destabilizing internal life.

Soviet society, in the name of observing basic human rights and charity, considers that our conscience cannot be reconciled with the orgy of political terror overwhelming Colombia. We appeal to the public of the world to raise their voices against this evil in the name of the common solidarity of mankind. Drastic actions are needed particularly on behalf of international and national law enforcement organizations.

We consider that in Colombia itself, dialogue between opposing sides that are taking the stand of patriotism and political realism is necessary. The fruitfulness of national dialogue has been proved in practice in the past few years by many countries. The vital interests of the tormented Colombian people call for civil peace.

Political & Social

Miners' Strikes in Siberian Cities Continue

Local Official on Kuzbass

LD1407190489 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Kemerovo, Western Siberia July 14 TASS—The situation in the Kuznetsk Basin, or Kuzbass, remains complicated, the head of the local party committee said here today.

Aleksandr Melnikov, first secretary of the Kemerovo Regional Party Committee, announced that mine-workers at several collieries in the city of Mezhdurechensk began work in the second shift today.

By 8 pm local time, it was decided to meet the demands advanced by striking mine-workers in the city of Osinniki.

At present, the situation is especially tense at the Prokopyevsk mine. Problems that have accumulated there need consideration at government level.

Strikes are continuing in other cities, including Novokuznetsk, Kiselevsk, Lenin-Kuznetskiy, Berezovskiy and Kemerovo.

The working class of the Kuzbass area are using a political form to put forward their legitimate economic demands, Melnikov commented. On the one hand, the process is positive, but one cannot agree to work stoppages that accompany this process.

Local authorities called on the Kuzbass working people to maintain prudence, discipline and order, resume the operation of industrial enterprises and transport facilities and make up for the losses incurred.

Miners Meet, Outline Demands

LD1407185989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] As we have already reported, after a lengthy strike the Mezhudrechensk miners have gone back down into the pits. The situation at other Kuzbass mines remains tense. At 1700 Moscow time [1300 GMT] we received a report from Kemerovo. Journalist Vladimir Yuryev is at the microphone:

[Yuryev] So far the coal enterprises of Novokuznetsk, Osinniki, Berezovskiy, Prokopyevsk, and Kiselevsk have come to a halt. Workers at the Severnaya, (Volkov), and (Butorskaya) mines in Kemerovo ceased coal extraction today. They are currently not at the pit face, but at the town's central square, the Ploshchad Sovetov. There are several thousand people here. On the platform are members of the action committee and local soviet and party leaders of the town and oblast. Anyone who wants can come up to the microphones, which have been installed both on the platform and beside it.

The miners have added their own demands to those of the men of Mezhdurechensk. They mainly concern social, economic, and ecological problems. Their demands are just, and they have also been supported by Vladimir Ivanovich Ovdenko, first secretary of the town party committee. Incidentally, when the members of the strikers' action committee informed the rally participants of these demands, many of them had already been met. The possibility of satisfying the remainder is now being examined. A decision on some of them, however, is only possible after careful study and consideration, not only of the wishes of the miners, but also the country's possibilities, and that is particularly so in that only the USSR Supreme Soviet can satisfy some of them.

It is for this reason that between 1300 and 1400 the miners almost unanimously voted for the town and oblast leaders—having acquainted themselves with the proposals in a comparatively calm atmosphere and taking account of the real possibilities—to formulate specific replies on each issue. At 1800 they reported the package of adopted decisions to the workers in the square.

Naturally the discussions took place jointly with representatives of the action group, of which (Aleksandr Ivanovich Yevsyukov), an electrical fitter at the (Volkov) mine, was elected chairman.

[Begin Yevsyukov recording] We agree that many problems will take a long time to be solved—like ecological and social problems, and perhaps economic ones too. If we do not draw up a joint solution with specific terms, in the future people's confidence will be lost, and production will not be steady. This is a direct issue, because under the new economic management conditions, working conditions have not changed, yet the work has become more intensive, and pay, which is supposed to rise in connection with the physical labor expended, has not done so in a directly proportionate way, although all this was reflected in government documents. In other words, the things that were handed down from above are not in fact being disseminated here. So they must tell us something specific—something specific, please. If they cannot resolve this matter with us, let them resolve it with higher organizations: Let them invite them here. [end recording]

[Yuryev] The meeting began in the morning. It is already late afternoon, and the square is still full of activity. Aleksandr Grigoryevich Melnikov, first secretary of the oblast party committee; (Anatoliy Fedorovich Katenko), chairman of the oblast executive committee; and Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov, USSR coal industry minister, who have been meeting miners throughout the last few days, are due to arrive in Kemerovo soon from the south of the Kuzbass, from other mining towns. Several appeals have been broadcast on oblast radio stations to

the working class of the oblast from the Mezhdurechensk strike committee, calling for an end to the strike. The same appeal has been addressed to miners by Zapsib metallurgical workers, chemical workers of the Azot production association, workers of the Kemerovo coke-chemical plant, and other oblast enterprises.

The strike is not merely exacerbating the miners' situation—after all, with each passing day it will be more and more difficult to make up lost time—but it is also exacerbing the country's economic situation. Among the demands put forward by the strikers is one to which the entire working class of the country could no doubt append its signature: that economic reform should be implemented more rapidly, that genuine independence be granted to state enterprises, and that power in its entirety should be placed into workers' hands at these enterprises. Ours are not wildcat actions. Our demands have been neglected for too long. These words were voiced more frequently than any others in the square. What can one add? They are true words, and they demand sure and resolute action—from all.

Strikers Rebuff 'Democratic Union'

PM1407173989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 89 First Edition p 6

[Own correspondent A. Bogachuk dispatch: "Not That Simple"]

[Text] Kemerovo, 14 Jul—Today, following the 3-day strike, the first thousands of tons of coal have been brought to the surface from the "Raspadskaya" and Imeni Lenina mines and other Mezhdurechensk coal mining enterprises. By a decision of the former strike committee, repair and support teams started work at individual mines as of 0000, and as of 0800 the normal work pace is being restored everywhere.

At yesterday's citywide rally in Mezhdurechensk, where the strike committee announced its decision, there were some very tense moments when it seemed that the situation might get out of control and become unmanageable. Too many problems have accumulated, there are too many old wounds, and the pain threatened to cloud people's judgement. However, common sense and the miners' professional integrity won the upper hand and did not allow them to stoop to extortion and horse-trading during the discussion of their demands.

The conditions put forward by the miners relate not only to higher wages, the establishment of sensible working conditions, and the solution of key social problems, but also to the expansion of enterprises' rights and economic independence which ensure the introduction of economic accountability and self-financing in practice rather than just paying lip service to it. In other words, all this is called upon to contribute to the acceleration of the pace of perestroyka and the enhancement of the working people's living standards. These questions affect the lives and interests of all the miners of the basin and even the sector as a whole. This is why the Mezhdurechensk miners immediately won approval and support in miners' collectives in Novokuznetsk, Prokopyevsk, Osinniki, and Leninsk-Kuznetskiy.

Yesterday, strike committees were also set up in these cities and most of the mines stopped work. Squads of striking workers are maintaining exemplary public order everywhere. At their request, liquor sales have been stopped everywhere and anti-intoxication posts have been set up on the highways. The miners have not simply abandoned their work places—the strike committees have ensured the uninterrupted functioning of ventilation and gas monitoring systems and of all the mines' life-support services.

The Mezhdurechensk miners, who have ended their strike, have sent a delegation to the mining city of Osinniki with an appeal to their neighbors to resume work. The "Kapitalnaya" and "Vysokaya" Mines have partially resumed operations. A rally of miners and "Elektromashina" association workers in Prokopyevsk today was addressed by delegations of railroad workers, just like 2 days ago in Mezhdurechensk. While supporting the strikers' demands in principle, they declined a proposal that they join the strike and they are efficiently ensuring the transportation of national economic freight.

Today I managed to attend a miners' rally in the oblast center. In this connection I would like to highlight one important feature. Activists of the so-called "Democratic Union" and some other unsponsored organizations tried to jump on the bandwagon of the miners' strike in Kemerovo, and in Novokuznetsk the day before. They brandished anti-Soviet slogans; however, they were given a resolute rebuff.

Strike Entering 'New Stage'

LD1507121289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] First, a report on the strike in the Kuzbass. Our correspondent reports that since early morning at many mining centers the central squares have been buzzing with activity. The miners of Novokuznetsk, Osinniki, Prokopyevsk, Kiselevsk, and Kemerovo have ceased work completely. The workers of almost all coal enterprises in Belovo, Anzhero-Sudzhensk, Leninsk-Kuznetskiy, and Berezovskiy have come up from the mines. The main theme in the strikers' demands is more economic independence.

The miners of the Kuzbass know how to work. This year alone they have produced hundreds of thousands of tonnes of coal over and above the plan. But miserly sums are left, by comparison with the solid profits earned, at the disposal of coal enterrises and the cities where they are located. However, the miners experienced a constant need for supplies of foodstuffs and of essential goods. Housing and social and cultural amenities are being built slowly in the cities and settlements.

We want to work well and live well, the miners declare. The strike movement is entering a new stage. Work is under way to set up an oblast strike committee capable of voicing not just the needs of every individual mining town, but of the entire Kuzbass coalmining region. The all-union radio correspondent stresses that the strikers' voluntary detachments are maintaining exemplary public order everywhere.

Strikers Total 80,000

PM1507190089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 89 First Edition p 6

[Correspondent A. Bogachuk report: " 'Basin' in Turmoil: Kuzbass Miners' Strike Continues"]

[Text] Kemerovo City, 15 Jul—The Square of the Soviets in the oblast center was like a campsite last night. The staff tent was next to the flower beds. The striking miners put their jackets under their heads and lay down on the asphalt ground. Everywhere people were calling out. Sometimes they were mischievous and provocative shouts, in miner's style: "Protect nature—your mother!" or "Screw you!" But the majority of them are grim, the product of suffering: "Regional economic accountability for the Kuznetsk coal basin!"

Everywhere the talk is restrained; there is calm and composure.

In the past 24 hours, the situation in the Kuzbass mining region has worsened considerably. The strikers have been joined by all the mines in Belov City and by some mines in Anzhero-Sudzhensk. The whole Kuznetsk basin is effectively gripped by strikes and the number of strikers has passed 80,000.

As PRAVDA has already reported, the miners of Mezhdurechensk have ended their strike. The collective of the Shevyakov mine, for example, produced 2,500 tonnes of coal yesterday. Despite attempts to picket enterprises, coal mining has resumed at the "Raspadkaya," Lenin, "Tomskaya," and "Usinskaya" mines. The situation in those collectives is gradually returning to normal. In Novokuznetsk work is continuing in a number of sections of the "Yubileynaya" and "Polosukhinskaya" mines, which supply industrial fuel for the coke furnaces of the West Siberian metallurgical combine. A number of other open cast pits did not stop work, either. But these are only small areas where things are all right.

There is no need to say that the strike is causing tremendous harm to the national economy. At the "Severokuzbassugol" production association alone, as your correspondent heard from the association's general director, Ye. Kukharenko, in the past 24 hours 25,000 tonnes of coal have been lost. But that is small potatoes compared to the possible consequences of the strike.

The strike committees in Prokopyevsk and—later—Leninsk-Kuznetskiy decided to halt the shipment of fuel to consumers. In the next few days this threatens to cause serious disruptions to the work of the ferrous metal industry and thermal electric power stations running on Kuznetsk coal. After a large rally in the square, I talked today with A. Yevsyukov, an electrofitter at the Volkov mine and chairman of the Kemerovo miners' strike committee.

"For 4 straight hours," he said, "we held a dialogue with the party and soviet leaders of the city and oblast yesterday. But on the majority of our demands we were not given a clear answer. Therefore, the decision was made to continue the strike. I would point out, by the way, that many of the strikers' demands come down essentially to granting miners' collectives the real right to control their enterprises' destiny and dispose of the coal produced by hard labor to the point of concluding barter deals for above-plan fuel and using foreign currency for the social needs of the city and the region."

Yesterday's meetings between the strike committee leaders in Novokuznetsk and Prokopyevsk and M. Shchadov, coal industry minister, and A. Melnikov, first secretary of the Kemerovo party oblast committee, did not satisfy the strikers either. The miners are insisting that government leaders come to the Kuzbass and that the sector's urgent problems be thoroughly examined at the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Strikes Continue 17 Jul

LD1707081789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0730 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul (TASS)—"Rallies are continuing virtually around the clock in the squares of mining towns," writes PRAVDA today in a correspondent's report from Kemerovo Oblast in Western Siberia. "It is not just the strikers' demands that are being discussed and clarified. The people want to know the whole truth about the general state of affairs in the oblast. Not infrequently this truth is either delayed or given with greater inaccuracies, to put it mildly."

The strike committee at the Prokopyevsk pit has decided to halt the off-loading of fuel to consumers. This could have grave consequences for the country's iron and steel workers above all, and that could lead to the disruption of fuel exports.

At the same time, the strike committee at the Kemerovo pit is not in agreement with its colleagues from Prokopyevsk, and has acknowledged the need to maintain a constant supply of coal to consumers. "The miners are displaying restraint and good sense, and are refusing to give in to the demands of firebrands to call on the enterprises in other industries to take part in the strike. At the same time, however, they are upholding the vital interests of all working people in the town and the region," stresses PRAVDA. "It is one thing, they believe,

to voice support for the miners' demands, but it is quite another thing to lay down tools themselves. Yes, they favor organizing an oblast strike committee of miners but they are resolutely against the participation in the strike of all the oblast's enterprises, without exception."

However, as the newspaper notes, many people—including the Kemerovo strike committee—are still unaware that the decision made to meet the demands of the Mezhdurechensk striking miners, concerning in particular a pay rise for working night and evening shifts and broad economic independence, extends to the whole of the Kuznetsk basin. People are continuing to knock on an open door in their ignorance of this.

"The situation in Kemerovo remains extremely tense." PRAVDA's correspondent's report remarks. "At the same time, it must be emphasized that, with help from the workers' voluntary militia and the law enforcement organs, the strikers everywhere are maintaining exemplary discipline and orderlineOs." As the newspaper's correspondent was told in the oblast Interior Affairs Administration and the oblast's Procurator's Office, crime has sharply decreased during the strike.

Miners Hold Joint Meeting

LD1607162189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Our own correspondent has just reported from Kemerovo:

The miners' strike in the Kuznetsk basin is continuing. A conference has been under way for several hours now in the mining town of Prokopyevsk among represntatives of town strike committees, who have arrived there from all the towns of the Kuzbass to work out joint demands. The conference proceedings are being relayed on oblast radio. Loudspeakers have been set up in town squares and in workers' settlements near the pits. One of the main demands is that miners' collectives be granted economic independence; the real right to manage funds that they have earned.

In putting forward their economic demands, the labor collectives are linking them closely with political reform and are coming out in favor of strengthening local soviets so that many social problems will be solved more rapidly. The nature of many of the slogans being taken to the meetings today by miners has also changed. Here are just a couple of them:

Perestroyka in Deeds, Not Words!

Regional Financial Autonomy for the Kuzbass!

Of course, the miners understand that the strike is causing great damage to the national economy. Production involving many hundreds of thousands of tonnes of coal has already been lost. But the strike has also clearly highlighted the main cause that prompted the Kuznetsk coal basin to leave the pits and to go into the squares—slowness in tackling the urgent needs and demands of the miners, slowness in the implementation of the perestroyka program, and lack of attention to the people.

It has been reported to us from Prokopyevsk that a united oblast strike committee has been formed to coordinate the actions.

Workers To Form Council

LD1607113889 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] The strike in Siberia's coal mining region in Kuznetsk is continuing. The strike, which began nearly a week ago, has spread to nine cities. In Kiselevsk work has stopped at 17 plants in a token of solidarity with the strikers.

The ministers are indignant with the neglected state of the social sphere, yet their chief demand is to give the mines economic independence so that they could operate effectively.

As the Siberian miners are saying at rallies: Although they have many problems this won't shake their faith either in the party or in the Soviet government.

At the proposal of the strikers, and there are about 100,000 of them, representatives of the Kuznetsk region cities will meet in Prokopyevsk to elect a regional workers committee. The body should supervise measures outlined at government, ministerial, and local levels.

Kuznetsk Miners' Demands Noted

LD1507190289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jul (TASS)—The coal enterprises of the city of Mezhdurechensk (western Siberia) started work on the evening of 14 July, IZVESTIYA writes today. The strike committee appealed to the working people of the Kuznetsk coal basin to support its decision to end the strike since the halting of the mines and open-cast workings for a lengthy period of time might lead to unforeseen consequences.

The demands made by the miners of Mezhdurechensk to the Ministry of the Coal Industry and to the local authorities have been deemed to be appropriate and in the main have been satisfied, the newspaper notes. It would appear that the conflict could have been considered to be over, but no one explained to the inhabitants of the region at the proper time that the decisions that have been made extend to all of the Kuznetsk basin. As a result, the miners of other towns in the basin—Osinniki, Novokuznetsk, Prokopyevsk, Kiselevsk, Leninsk-Kuznetskiy and Berezovsk—stopped work and made almost the same demands.

The strike has already led to negative consequences for the economy of the region. At the Kuznetsk metallurgical combine the coking batteries are being loaded with coal taken from the reserve stocks. At the West Siberian metallurgical works coal for coking reaches the plant along a pulp line from the Yubileynaya mine. The steelworkers therefore asked their neighbors at the pit not to stop work. The miners received this request with understanding and turned up for their shift, but they were stopped by pickets from neighboring mines, IZVESTIYA writes.

Volgograd Steelworkers Strike To Protest Pay Delay
LD1507071189 Moscow TASS in English 0707 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Volgograd July 15 TASS—A strike in the blooming shop at the Volgograd Krasny Oktyabr steel mill has paralysed the work of the rolling production, a third of the personnel. The strike was triggered off by a 4 day delay in payment of wages, since there was no money in the bank.

The main rolling mill stood idle for nine hours. The work resumed when the payment of wages began. A commission was formed at the factory, at the workers' demand, to find out who is directly responsible for the pay delay. The commission is bound to take strict measures towards those responsible and to report to the personnel in three-days' time.

Lawyer Notes Need for Strike Regulations
PM1407164189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Legal Sciences S. Shishkin, head of the State Law and Soviet Building Department at Irkutsk State University: "Is a Strike Legal? Legal Regulation Needed"]

[Text] Having embarked on the path of building a rule-of-law state, it will be necessary to abandon many past stereotypes and get attuned to things that are rather unusual and sometimes even shocking.

There has been an increasing number of reports in our press of late about strikes in various cities, often emphasizing their illegality. How can it be illegal, pray, when we have no law on the subject? The events in Mezhdurechensk, where an unprecedented miners' strike has been going on for several days, give particular urgency to this topic, it seems to me. The very admission of the possibility of conflicts in socialist society and of rather deep contradictions between the interests of the state, collective, and individual essentially legalizes the practice of strikes as an extreme way of resolving labor conflicts and relieving social tension.

It is a significant fact that our state ratified the 19 December 1966 "International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights," which contains the right to strike provided it is carried out in accordance with the laws of the particular country. Therefore, bringing intrastate legislation into line with the international pact will indicate not only the reality of the primacy of international law over intrastate law in Soviet practice, but also the implementation of the principle of the primacy of general human values over the class interests, which has been proclaimed by our president.

When talking about the legal framework of strikes, I proceed on the basis that they exist in our country. They are a fact of our life. Arguments that enshrine the right to strike in a law would incite and stimulate a strike movement are simply frivolous. In fact, the lack of a legal framework is a factor in workers' arbitrary reaction to administrative situations which they find unacceptable. The fact that the negative legal consequences are not clear gives strikers the illusion that anything goes during the a strike and enables various political speculators, demagogues, and provocateurs to represent strikes as some universal means of restoring social justice. On the other hand, the administration too can do as it pleases.

The adoption of legislative measures should regulate the sides' conduct in situations where emotions rule, where nationalism, political speculation, vandalism, and violence are often added to the circumstances surrounding a labor conflict. The right to strike cannot be perceived in a simplistic manner: If I want to, I will abandon my work; if I want to, I will work. The law must make provision for a mechanism to settle a conflict in its early stages. The right to strike must arise after the exhaustion of all possible measures to influence the administration of an enterprise, institution, or organization with a demand to exercise the right to self-management and to participate in running the affairs of state and society.

Obviously, the law must also contain juridical limitations to the right to strike. For example, in France such limitations are imposed on some categories of state employees, like policemen, corrective labor institutions' staff, and air traffic controllers; political strikes are also banned. The imposition of such a legal framework is understandable; it is necessary to ensure that society is supplied with the minimum amount of service and information: Emergency medical services, telephone communications, radio and television, and nuclear power station personnel must all function.... One of the restrictive means in the government's hands is its control of finance. State employees taking part in a strike are not entitled to receive wages because they have not performed their functions.

The right to strike is quite a complex instrument that demands quite detailed regulation. For example, if Hungarian law only has seven articles, it is clear that life and practice will supplement it.

It is quite important to also define the trade unions' role in a strike. The Stalin era transformed these organs for the protection of the working people's rights and legitimate interests into hostages of the apparatus. In their

present form, without thorough legal and practical modernization, they are hardly capable of performing their primordial functions. In this context it is impossible to describe as totally successful the draft Law on Trade Unions' Rights—it gave no attention to the right to strike. Meanwhile, Swedish legislation, for example, contains three whole laws: On trade union representatives in production, on joint regulation of labor relations, and on the protection of hired workers.

Let us sum this all up. Strikes are a reality in our country today, and a state cannot claim to be ruled by law unless the sides' actions in this reality are governed by law. The introduction of legal regulation of strikes will demand, first, the introduction of corresponding amendments to the USSR Constitution and, second, the adoption of a USSR Law on Strikes. It ought to contain a definition of strike, those who are entitled to call a strike, the mechanism for preventing a strike once it has been called but before it has actually begun, the sides' rights during a strike, the organs which can settle a labor conflict—special courts and arbitration services—restrictions on the right to strike, and the sides' liability for illegal claims and actions. It will also be necessary to make amendments and additions to the labor legislation of the USSR and the union republics, to elaborate a series of laws on trade unions' rights, and to introduce additions to the corrective labor legislation in the event of strikes in places of detention.

As a rule, until now lawmakers have followed in the wake of events. This is why we often lagged behind life. It is necessary to learn to run ahead of life. It is necessary to realize that only the fresh wind of new legislation can swell the Soviet ship's sails of perestroyka. This is vitally important for us all, because our ship is now sailing the open sea.

FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE: This very day the USSR Council of Ministers submitted a draft Law on Labor Disputes for examination by the Supreme Soviet.

1 Reported Dead in Tajikistan Ethnic Clashes

LD1407162789 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Isfara, Tajikistan's Leninabad region July (TAJIKTASS)—The situation in Tajikistan's Isfara district has sharply deteriorated following large-scale clashes between ethnic Tajiks and Kirghizes over use of water and land on the night of July 13.

Thousands of people were involved in shoot-outs in which 19 people from both sides were injured, one of whom later died of wounds.

Top party and government officials from the republics of Tajikistan and Kirghizia, and a delegation of Supreme Soviet deputies are in the area.

'Quarrel' Over Land, Water

LD1407165289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1549 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Isfara/Leninabad Oblast, Tajikistan, 14 Jul (TAJIKTAG-TASS)—The situation in Isfara Rayon, Tajikistan (Soviet Central Asia) has become sharply strained. A major clash betwen representatives of the Tajik and Kirghizian populations took place here.

An old dispute on the right of using land and water on a number of parts of the territory on the border between the two republics led to the conflict. The communal use of the Matcha irrigation canal, on whose banks Kirghizes and Tajiks have been settling since time immemorial, has been interupted this year. After Kirghiz inhabitants began exploiting an extensive part of the disputed territory, the Tajik side took responsive actions. The canal between the republics was partly destroyed and filled with stones, which resulted in considerable damage to crops.

The situation is being compounded by a number of imprudent decisions taken in the past by the local organizations that sanctioned the construction of new settlements and the exploitation of lands without the necessary agreement from the neighboring side. Naturally, unofficial attempts to solve many important issues, including the supply of water and power, the construction of roads across the other side's territory, and so forth encountered resistance, which contributed to the conflict.

The discord has become particularly critical during the last 3 months. All this time the leader of the party, soviet, and law enforcement bodies of the Leninabad Oblast of Tajikistan and the Osh Oblast of Kirghizia have done a lot of work to contain the conflict.

Nonetheless, the population's attempts to independently resolve the quarrel over land and water in its own favor led to a clash on the evening of 13 July in the border lands between the inhabitants of the kishlak soviets of Vorukh and Chorku in Leninabad Oblast and the settlement soviet of Samarkandyk in Osh Oblkast. Thousands of people took part in it. Firearms and knives were used. As a result, 19 people on the two sides were wounded. One of the wounded subsequently died.

Taking into account the extreme complexity of the situation, in order to prevent a further development of the events, which might have extremely serious consequences, the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] introduced in its decree a curfew [komendantskiy chas] in the territories of the Kishlak soviets of Vorukh, Chorku, and Surkh of Isfarinskiy Rayon. The situation in the area of the conflict is now being controlled by units of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Absamat Masaliyev and Kakhar Makhkamov, the first secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Parties of Kirghizia and Tajikistan, and Apas

Dyhymagulov and Izatullo Khayeyev, the chairman of the Councils of Ministers of the Kirghiz SSR and the Tajik SSR, have flown to the site of the events. There is also a commission of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Isfarinkskiy Rayon.

The process of democratization and glasnost has laid bare many sore problems that have immediately found themselves at the center of public attention. However, the search for a solution in such a complex issue as the use of lands and water where they are acutely lacking, as is characteristic in Tajikistan and Kirghizia, does not brook haste but requires careful study and rational compromise.

The actions that the party, soviet, and law enforcement bodies are currently taking in Isfarinskiy Rayon enable a search for such a solution to begin, and allow the starting positions from which a way out may be found that satisfies the demands of all parties involved in the conflict to be defined. Work in that direction continues.

Roots of Clashes Noted

PM1607175789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[Report by PRAVDA correspondents O. Latifi and Yu. Razgulyayev: "The Disputes Can Be Resolved"]

[Text] Batken, Isfara, 15 Jul—As our newspaper has already reported, clashes occurred on 13 July on the Kirghiz-Tajik border between residents of neighboring settlements. At the heart of the conflict was the acute shortage of land and the scarcity of water. The immediate cause was the republic organs' intolerable delay in resolving these long-standing questions.

The acute clash on the border was successfully localized by 14 July. The imposition of a curfew in a number of Tajik villages and the deployment of internal troop and militia subunits by both sides prevented the conflict from developing further. The visit to the rayons by USSR people's deputies and meetings and frank conversations with working people by Tajik and Kirghiz leaders played a stabilizing role.

But tension and anxiety were felt in many settlements. The questions which produced the conflict remain unresolved. Thus even reinforced patrols could not prevent an incident: Late in the evening of 14 July shots were fired from a hunting rifle and one militiaman was seriously wounded.

The two republics' leaders headed by A. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, and K. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, and envoys of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision: To open a channel and provide water to the parched fields and orchards. A competent commission was set up to produce a program to resolve all the land disputes as soon as possible. These materials will be examined by the two republics' Supreme Soviet Presidiums.

Here is how USSR Supreme Soviet deputies view the situation as it stands today.

M. Darsigov: This is my second visit to this region. Two months ago the Congress of USSR People's Deputies sent us here for the same reason. The situation was not as tense then but you could already feel potential danger. We warned the local authorities that each day's delay in resolving the land and water disputes threatened serious problems. Unfortunately the necessary measures have not been taken. To be more precise, the rayon and oblast leaders made do with half-measures and promises.

V. Prokushev: This conflict in all its drama reflects many present-day realities. The atmosphere of glasnost and openness established in the country was bound to affect people's social activeness. That is what happened in these southern republics, too. The population's attempts to resolve the accumulated problems by their own efforts spilled over into unlawful actions.

This conflict has shown once again how urgent the question of creating a rule-of-law state is. One should not resort to any old means to resolve even the most acute questions. We have seen for ourselves once more that this leads merely to a deepening of the conflict and an increase in tension.

G. Ikayev: Outwardly the conflict looks interethnic. But in fact it is based on socioeconomic problems that have built up over years. After all, the Kirghiz and Tajiks have lived peacefully as neighbors for decades, centuries—in each house and street they drank water from the same stream, the Isfarinka. The tension in the region is created by "land" questions: the shortage of farmland, the scarcity of water, the surplus manpower. These problems must be resolved as a package in the light of the region's characteristics. [Ikayev ends]

Conferences have been held at the Batkenskiy Kirghiz Communist Party Rayon Committee and the Isfara Tajik Communist Party City Committee, with the leaders of the two republics and USSR people's deputies participating. They adopted specific measures to improve the current situation.

These rayons—Batkenskiy and Isfarinskiy—are similar in many respects. Therefore care should be taken not only to demarcate their borders, important thought that is, but also to pay greater attention to people's rapprochement, to economic cooperation, and to mutual assistance. Something which is in the spirit of the local traditions of both republics' populations.

Government Commission Set Up

LD1507164289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1541 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Bakten (Osh Oblast), 15 Jul (TASS)—After the exacerbation of relations between the residents of Bakten rayon and neighboring Isfara Rayon in the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Absamat Masaliyev and Kakhar Maklhkamov, the first secretaries of the Kirghizia and Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committees, and Apas Dzhumagulov and Izatu"o Khayeyev, chairmen of the republics' Councils of Ministers, have come here. A group of peoples' deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet is also here.

Conferences have been held with the participation of the two republics' leaders and the USSR people's deputies in the Batken rayon committee of the Kirghizia Communist Party and the Isfara town committee of the Tajikistan Communist Party. At them, specific measures were adopted to improve the situation that has emerged. Kakhar Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, told those present that an extraordinary government commission headed by Izatullo Khaveyev, chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers, had been established. It will function until the situation in Isfara Rayon is completely stabilized.

A decision has been made to clear the Matchoi canal and, as of 15 July, to supply water to the "100 Letiya V.I. Lenina" state farm in Batken Rayon. In both republics it has been decided to establish government commissions to study and clarify the borders of the disputed plots of land. The commissions must make the necessary proposals for a final settlement of the question.

The party, soviet, and economic bodies of Kirghizia and Tajikistan are taking specific action to resolve the conflict as soon as possible, and to establish the conditions necessary for the economic and social development of the two neighboring rayons of the republics and to strengthen the fraternal friendship between the Kirghiz and Tajik peoples.

Further on Disturbances in Nagorno-Karabakh

Baku Commandant Bans Demonstrations

NC1507174589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Notice issued by Major General Sokolv, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation in the republic's capital has not changed. It is peaceful. However, last week an effort was made by citizens, who had recently arrived in Baku permanently, to intimidate and insult the Armenian residents. Complaints about this have been made to the military commandant's administration.

The internal affairs organs are investigating cases concerning the infringement of social law and order.

I appeal to the citizens of multinational Baku and urge them to adhere to social law and order, respect each other, and act with caution and [word indistinct]. In view of the special situation in the city, mass gatherings, meetings, and demonstrations are prohibited.

[Signed] Major General Sokolov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Azerbaijan Minister on Situation

NC1607051189 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 16 Jul 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Disturbing reports have recently been received from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], where the tense situation has significantly worsened. TASS news agency reports, which were published in the newspapers, have provided some information on the sitution, but these reports were incomplete. As a result, a KOMMUNIST correspondent interviewed Major General Aydin Mamedov, who is also the minister of internal affairs of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, and urged him to reply to a number of questions.

The interview noted that certain forces are acting in accordance with premeditated plans to distrupt peace [words indistinct]. Many serious crimes have been committed to further escalate discord between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis on matters concerning the future of the NKAO commission, which was created in accordance with a decision by the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies.

Mamedov pointed out that effective measures are being put into effect to end the tense situation.

Armenian Party Discusses Situation

NC1607084989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 16 Jul 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYSIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The newspaper reports that a regular session of the Armenian Communist Party Bureau has been held, during which a report by Minister of Internal Affairs [Usik] Arutyunyan on the [word indistinct] situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was heard. It is pointed out that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and [words indistinct] are deeply concerned about the tense situation in the NKAO. It is [word indistinct] that the situation in the NKAO currently calls for a constructive solution to the NKAO problem on a constitutional basis.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's government, local, party, and soviet bodies, and (?legal services) are taking measures to safeguard law and order in the republic's cities and rayons for the effective (?implementation) of the republic's public social services.

Security Measures Implemented

NC1707064589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Tension in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] (?slightly decreased) yesterday. However, (?this does not mean that) the interethnic incidents have come to an end. [Passage indistinct] of the citizens are basically able to maintain law and order along the roads. On the night of 14-15 July [word indistinct] many [word indistinct] were dispatched to Mkhitarshen village of Askeran rayon where gunfire was heard. Three monuments in Shushi's Armenian cemetery were destroyed. A tense situation has developed along the (?Nurbashir-Kelbazar) road in Mardakertskiy rayon, where the safety of road travel for (?private cars) has not been ensured. Yesterday, 14 July, a helicopter coordinating the operations of the security forces crashed in the eastern part of [name indistinct] of Mardakertskiy rayon, killing seven children who had been watching its flight on the ground. The cause of the tragedy is being investigated.

Following measures taken by the NKAO special administration committee, the inhabitants of Stepanakert were able to watch Armenian television on the evening of 14 July. The KHORHRDAYIN KHARABAKH newspaper has not appeared for the last 3 days due to a strike at the local printing press.

Yerevan Soviet Issues Resolution

NC1507074489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] The 6th session of the 20th congress of the people's deputies of the Yerevan City Soviet has been held. [Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 1200 GMT on 12 July reported that the Yerevan City Soviet session convened on 12 July at the Armenian Supreme Soviet building] In addition to the deputies, representatives of the social and nonofficial organizations also took part in the session.

Eduard Avakyan, chairman of the Yerevan City Soviet Executive Committee, delivered a report on the current situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. He and other speakers expressed deep concern on the exacerbation of the situation in the NKAO and proposed taking every measure to prevent interethnic clashes. A resolution on this issue was endorsed. The session appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet and demanded the blockade of the oblast be immediately lifted, the security of the population ensured, and a special commission dispatched urgently to the NKAO to formulate practical methods for the just and lasting solution of the Artsakh [NKAO] problem.

Eduard Avakyan also delivered a report on the next issue on the agenda. Recalling the results of the first congress of the USSR people's deputies, he referred to the primary problems facing the Yerevan City Soviet Executive Committee and Soviet bodies of the capital.

The representatives of the nonofficial organizations submitted a draft resolution concerning the curfew hours in Yerevan for examination. A commission was set up with the mandate to clarify the legality of the curfew hours in Yerevan (?at the time mentioned) and other related issues.

Shootings Reported 12 Jul

NC1507181389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 15 Jul 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper has published a TASS reporter's dispatch about developments in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. A tense situation prevails in NKAO, the report says. On 12 July, hunting rifles were fired in a number of settlements. By these actions, irresponsible persons have tried to sharpen the tension and create [word indistinct] atmosphere for [words indistinct] the opposite side. (?No one) has been injured as a result of the shootings. However, the issue is not confined merely to psychological terror. A number of serious chauvinistic crimes have taken place in the oblast.

ARMENPRES reporter Grigoryan reports that the tension in and around the oblast has not [word indistinct]. Opponents of a democratic solution to the NKAO problem are not [word indistinct] anything (?in hand) are ransacking the homes of the citizens and agro-industial objects. The [word indistinct] incidents between the (?marauding gangs) and the troops of the (?militia) and Interior Ministry have become frequent. The [word indistinct] also exacerbating the situation. A more detailed (?report) on the NKAO situation is published in the paper.

Armenians, Troops on Incidents

LD1407214389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] [Announcer] As we have already reported, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh remains tense. Our special corresponent Sergey Omelchenko is presently working there.

[Omelchenko] A new round of tension is developing in Nagorno- Karabakh. This striking set phrase, which has flashed in the central press here in the autonomous oblast, means pain, nerves wound up to the breaking point of fear, and the confrontation of tens of thousands

of people—Armenians and Azerbaijanis. In practical terms demarcation between these two peoples here on the territory of the autonomous oblast has been implemented, although there are localities with mixed inhabitants as well.

Movement along the oblast's roads is difficult and not without danger. During the past days four people have died—two Azerbaijanis and two Armenians.

Have there not been enough victims on both sides? Many people are asking this question here. In the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] the arrival of the commission on interethnic issues is expected. The mutual recriminations, calumnies, and criticisms between the two peoples continue. There are very many conjectures and rumors that when checked turn out to be false and cannot be confirmed. But they do their job, winding up people who are already excited.

Here is a group of servicemen. Tell me, what do you think of the present situation?

[First serviceman] I think that the situation is tense. We arrived here yesterday. As of today we are already on duty. We are on the square.

[Second serviceman] What is typical is that some of the local comrades are working very poorly among the population to stabilize the situation. Therefore, not everything is clear. Consequently the troops are asked questions they cannot fully answer.

[Third serviceman] Because the situation here in Karabakh is changing in a matter of minutes, great responsibility is placed on the personnel.

[Omelichenko] Here next to the central square in Stepanakert many inhabitants—roughly 100 to 150 I suppose—have gathered. Tell me, do you believe it is possible to resolve the problems that have arisen here in the NKAO by peaceful means?

[First man] They can be resolved by peaceful means but they must be resolved in accordance with the will of the majority of NKAO inhabitants.

[Second man] We agree that it is possible to resolve them by peaceful means.

[Third man] It is possible to resolve them if our supreme organs will assist. For instance, there is a special administration committee, there is a curfew and there are troops supporting these measures. They are completely conversant with everything but do not take any steps.

[Fourth man] Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh are waiting and hoping for a peaceful, constitutional solution to the problems in Nagorno-Karabakh. Now the time has come. Everybody knows that the time has come. A commission has been set up. We hope that the new parliament will solve this problem, but certain dark forces are trying to destabiize the situation in the oblast to hinder the peaceful work of the committee.

[Omelichenko] I would also like to present the opinion of the Azerbaijani side. Yesterday I was in the town of Shusha. There, after the deaths of two Azerbaijanis, passions are also running high but for reasons beyond my control I did not manage to record interviews. I think that this shortcoming also will be rectified in the course of events. It would be better if the opinions of both the Azerbaijani and Armenian side were expressed at the table of peaceful negotiations.

Commentary Views Situation

LD1407194389 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Vitaliy Gurov commentary]

[Text] The attention of the Soviet people is again locked on the dramatic events in the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh. We may remind you that the region's population is predominantly Armenian, but the region is within Azerbaijan. This is how things shaped historically. It is this situation for a long time already that is a stumbling block in the conflict between the Armenians and Azerbaijanians. The relative calm in the region didn't last long. I use the word calm, writes our commentator Vitaliy Gurov to imply there were no tragic events. Thinking about it, the situation has been complicated all the past few months in Nagorno-Karabakh. There has been another outburst of passions. In the past 24 hours alone several assaults have been made on the interior troops and policemen on duty there. Several civilians were killed. A hardware store has been looted and a traffic control station at an airport was looted and a traffic control station at an airport was looted in one area. A strike goes on in industries in the center of Nagorno-Karabakh, in the city of Stepanakert. In short, there is another rise in emotions.

The country's leadership is facing a complicated situation. It has to find measures so that calm should descend on the homes of the residents of the region, of any nationality. A difficult task is to be solved by members of a just-formed commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of our national parliament on the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. It is clear even now that things can't be mended only by solving the social problems that have piled up there. The conflict is much deeper and much more complicated. It affects ethnic interests, ethnic pride, and ethnic self-awareness.

Every move by the parliamentary commission is scrutinized by the population of Nagorno-Karabakh and by that of the two neighboring republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Any step, any statement can immediately detonate another explosion of passions, and again there may be casualties among the population. I recall words from a speech at the Congress of Peoples Deputies of the

USSR by Arkadiy Volskiy, who is head of the special committee for running Nagorno-Karabakh. He urged the deputies to show restraint and, possibly before the parliamentary commission has done its work, to refrain from polemics on the issue, since passions are running too high.

Nevertheless, the problem of Nagornyo-Karabakh flared up several times on the rostrum of the Congress of Peoples Deputies and in the Soviet parliament. It remains to be seen how the problem will be solved. I can only add that the Supreme Soviet has set up special commissions to inquire into the problems of the Crimean Tatars and ethnic Germans, commissions similar to the one on Nagorno-Karabakh. However, the ethnic conflicts which occurred lately are not confined to these. It is very good that nobody turns a blind eye on them any longer, contrary to what happened in the past. They are discussed and attempts are made to settle them. The nationalities question will be discussed comprehensively at a full-scale meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee due shortly.

Interethnic Clashes Reported in Sukhumi

LD1607142589 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 16 TASS—Eleven people died in ethnic clashes in the city of Sukhumi, capital of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhasia in Soviet Georgia, on Saturday and last night.

Abkhasians and Georgians clashed with stones, sticks, knives and firearms. 127 people were hospitalised. "The fighting had been sparked by a dispute over the establishment of the Tbilisi State University's branch in Sukhumi."

Authorities are taking measures to aid the victims and restore public order. The situation is now under control of militia and Interior Ministry troops. The Prosecutor's Office is conducting an investigation.

The first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, Givi Gumbaridze, other republican leaders and senior executives of law enforcement bodies have arrived in Abkhasia.

The Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, the Abkhasian Regional Party Committee, the presidiums of the Supreme Soviets and the Councils of Ministers of Georgia and Abkhasia expressed their profound condolences to the families and friends of those killed.

They called on the population to display wisdom, common sense and high responsibility and help party, local government and law enforcement bodies stabilise the situation.

Minister Says 'Hundreds' Hurt in Abkhaz Unrest

PM1607171389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with USSR Internal Affairs Minister V. Bakatin by R. Ignatyev: "On the Events in Sukhumi"]

[Text] Ethnic disorders occurred in Abkhazia on 14 July 1989. They intensified on Saturday, and by Sunday they had already acquired a mass character. Our correspondent R. Ignatyev asked USSR Internal Affairs Minister V. Bakatin to describe the current situation. Here is what he said:

"The situation in Abkhazia is very serious. There have been clashes in a number of places between people of Georgian and Abkhazian nationality. A particularly tense situation developed in Sukhumi on Saturday evening. According to preliminary figures, six people have died there and hundreds have been hospitalized. By Sunday disorders had been reported virtually throughout the republic and weapons have been seized: dozens of automatic weapons and hundreds of rifles. At the Georgian government's request we have sent a subunit of internal troops."

Gorbachev Briefs Politburo on Visits

PM1607181189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 16 Jul 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] At its 14 July session, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo listened to a report by M.S. Gorbachev about his visit to Leningrad, his meetings with the working people of the city and the party and economic aktiv, and about a Party Plenum Oblast Committee that was held. The meetings and conversations showed that the working class supports the course of the CPSU toward deepening the economic and political reforms, and links its destiny completely with restructuring. However, the people of Leningrad are not satisfied with the way that many practical matters are being resolved, and express themselves insistently in favor of raising the level of work at the center and in the localities. The working people voice high demands to the party organization, which places Communists under an obligation to work actively among the masses and to resolve with persistence urgent issues in the development of the city and oblast.

The Politburo examined the draft platform of the CPSU on nationalities policy under present-day conditions. Following a comprehensive discussion on this question, it was deemed necessary to complete work on the draft and send it to the Central Committee of the communist parties of the union republics for consideration. It is intended that the draft CPSU platform will then be put forward to a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

Information from M.S. Gorbachev on the results of the conference of the member states of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee was examined at the sitting. It was noted that all participants in the Bucharest conference were in favor of the further deepening of cooperation between the allied countries in the interests of consolidating the positive changes that are taking place on the continent of Europe, with the Warsaw Pact states participating in a way that is initiative-taking in the utmost degree.

The documents adopted by the conference gave clear expression to the determination to ensure further progress toward a stable and secure Europe, and to render irreversible the processes of movement from confrontation to dialogue and cooperation which are taking shape in the world.

The Politburo approved the activity of M.S. Gorbachev at the Bucharest meeting of leaders of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries. Stress was laid upon the importance of the broad businesslike exchange of opinions on topical problems of developing and renewing contemporary socialism.

The Politburo heard M.S. Gorbachev's report on the results of his visit to France and his visit to Strasbourg. Resting upon the stable traditions of Soviet-French relations, the summit meeting revealed fresh and considerable opportunities for political dialogue with France as an important and reliable link in imparting dynamism to European and world policy and expanding mutually advantageous bilateral business cooperation.

The French side displayed a lively interest in constructive and substantive development of the concept of the common European home. the thorough exchange of opinions which took place on the tasks of reducing military confrontation and disarmament, primarily in Europe, and on decisive advancement of the Helsinki process, demonstrated the irreplaceable role of Soviet-French interaction in today's positive European and international processes.

The first-ever visit by a Soviet leader to Strasbourg was of important significance, and lays the foundation for establishing practical interaction between the USSR and the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe and West European associations.

The results of the visit by a CPSU delegation headed by V.P. Nikonov to the DPRK and its participation in the opening of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Pyongyang were examined. It was noted that the discussion with Kim Il-song, Korean workers' Party Central Committee general secretary and DPRK president, the meetings with the republic's party and economic officials, and the accords reached during the visit would promote further development of Soviet-Korean relations in the agroindustrial complex and a strengthening of the fraternal friendship between the peoples of our countries.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo listened to a report by V.P. Nikonov on the results of the CPSU delegation's visit to the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR]. It was noted that the close cooperation between the CPSU and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], between the Soviet Union and the MPR, was developing successfully and was an important factor in the implementation of restructuring in our countries and the strengthening of fraternal relations between them.

During the CPSU delegation's discussions with J. Batmonh, MPRP Central Committee general secretary and MPR Great People's Hural Presidium chairman, and other Mongolian leaders, officials of party committees, scientific and economic establishments, arats [herdsmen] and workers and agricultural specialists, tasks for further improving Soviet-Mongolian cooperation in developing agriculture and fuller utilizing the great potential that this sector holds were discussed.

14 July Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

Malyshev on Nuclear Power Policy

LD1407223189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1426 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Statement by Vadim Malyshev, prior to his reappointment as head of the State Committee Supervising Safety in Industry and the Nuclear Power Sector, at 14 July USSR Supreme Soviet joint session in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] I have been asked to assess the state of reactor No 4 at Chernobyl and of the nuclear electric power station as a whole in the matter of safety. Comrades, reactor no. 4 in its present state is something unique. There has never been anything like it in the world before, and I very much hope that there never is anything like it again. I hope that this remains for many years as a monument to slovenliness and criminality, so to speak. Anyway, its status is being closely monitored. Our inspectors are taking part in coordinating the work programs, and we have no fears of anything else happening there. There are individual matters connected with the structure's stability and the relevant questions have been asked in this respect. We are keeping a watch on this matter. At any rate, one cannot say today that everything there is in order, because we fully realize that that facility has to be preserved in its present state for more than just 1, 5, or perhaps even 10 years. And that iss why there is a special group from the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute at work there. The institute is working to ensure both complete safety and the absence of any radiation leakage. [passage omitted]

It must be frankly stated, comrades, that the problem of atomic waste disposal has not been fully solved. It has not been solved in any country. But I am not saying this to try and reassure you; I think that this is work that is being done and that must be completed. It is another matter that radioactive waste disposal today is scattered amongst various departments. In our country at the moment, to a certain extent, the situation regarding the disposal of various kinds of isotope sources is insufficiently monitored—in our view, that is—because this disposal is being done in each region and oblast by the relevant municipal services and others as well. A more serious attitude in this respect is displayed toward highly active waste, which is generally stored at enterprises of the former Ministry of Medium Machine Building. There are also storage facilities for low-activity waste, which is reprocessed by combustion or solidification, and these facilities are at the stations. I think that we will have problems here, but they are not of the kind that will put a stop to atomic energy.

Shcherbak Questions Nuclear Safety

LD1507101689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1433 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Remarks by Deputy Shcherbak on the candidacy of Vadim Mikhaylovich Malyshev for the post of chairman of the State Committee for the Supervision of Work Safety in Industry and Nuclear Power Engineering during the 14 July USSR Supreme Soviet joint session in the Kremlin—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Tasks of vital importance face the new committee in the sphere of ensuring safety in the nuclear power industry. The absence, as of now, of legislation regulating the activity of the nuclear power industry has led to the unconditional fulfilment of all state plan indices being placed above safety. As a result, planning and design organizations, manufacturing plants, and construction and assembly organizations do not bear responsibility for the complexes that they create. There are considerable lags behind the international level in planning, construction, and operation of nuclear power stations.

The Committee on Ecological Issues, which I have the honor of representing here, puts the problem on a much wider scale: We want not merely the creation of a law on nuclear power, but on nuclear safety. Despite all the improvements to the Chernobyl-type RBMK reactor after 1986, it unfortunately continues to pose a nuclear danger as a result of design inadequacies. It is known that if two conduits break while working at capacity a very serious accident may occur.

Incidentally, now, as a result of mistakes made during repairs, the taking up to capacity of the first block has been delayed.

The problem of the fourth damaged block of the Chernobyl power station demands a solution, taking into account the presence of cracks in the old structure. I would like the new committee and Comrade Malyshev to radically solve the problem of fully stopping the Chernobyl nuclear power station, considering its increased danger on a global scale. Carthage must be destroyed. Our country simply will not stand another Chernobyl. Moreover, even now safety regulations with regard to the location, planning, construction, and operation of nuclear power stations are often ignored. I will give one example: The town of Nikopol, in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, with a population of 160,000, is 10 km from the Zaporozhye nuclear power station, which is not in accordance with the safety norms ratified by the USSR Council of Ministers on 14 October 1987. According to these norms, the site of a nuclear power station cannot be closer than 25 km to a locality with a population of more than 100 people. According to these same norms, the combined capacity of a nuclear power station is restricted to 8 million kilowatts. With the commissioning of the sixth reactor, and taking into account the Zaporozhye state regional electrical power station's 3.6 million-kilowatts capacity, a colossal 9.6 million-kilowatt capacity will be concentrated in a tiny area on the very banks of the Kakhovka reservoir, a source of drinking water for millions of people.

Should we not stop and think: What are we doing? Why put such a dangerous genie in a fragile bottle? The issue of the waste from the nuclear industry is extremely important. By the year 2000, about 200,000 [word indistinct] of processed and dangerous nuclear fuel will have built up in the world, of which only 25 percent may be reprocessed. Things are bad in this respect in the USSR, where every nuclear power station has its own store of processed fuel, which represents a potential danger. [passage omitted]

Malyshev To Head Nuclear Safety Body

LD1407111989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Andrey Nikoforov report from USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet session continues its work in the Kremlin today. At the morning session, candidates for the offices of chairmen of USSR state committees are being examined. Vadim Mikhaylovich Malyshev is first to be invited to the platform. He is being proposed for the office of chairman of the State Committee for the Supervision of Work Safety in Industry and Nuclear Power Engineering. Listen to a brief extract from his speech to the deputies.

[Begin Malyshev recording] The Union Republican State Committee for the Supervision of Work Safety in Industry and Nuclear Power Engineering [gospromatomnadzor], which was created through the amalgamation of two state committees, is called upon to ensure the safe

utilization of technology. It is not only a new body that is being created; a state system of supervision over the safety of production facilities must be created. A system of protective measures must be created, not a fire brigade! The duties of the committee, and its juridical responsibility, which should be sealed by corresponding acts of legislation, are, first and foremost, ensuring the safety of the population, the safety of personnel and the purity of the environment. [end recording]

Vadim Mikhaylovich Malyshev also spoke about the need for the complete independence of the committee from other ministries and departments to be sealed by legislation, the imposition of severe economic sanctions for the most crude violations of technological discipline, and the all-around broadening of glasnost in discussing questions of the siting of industrial and power-engineering projects and the safety of their construction and production. Comrade Malyshev replied to numerous questions from deputies and the majority of them concerned questions of safety in the field of nuclear power engineering. Here is one of these questions and the response to it:

[Begin Malyshev recording] Deputy Vladimir Ivanovich Kolesnikov, from Rostov-on-Don asks this question: Which doctrine do you adhere to on the functioning of nuclear power stations—the principle of reasonable sufficiency or complete safety? Comrades, of course, all of us stick to the principle of complete safety. But, unfortunately, at the present time scientific-technical knowledge still does not permit guaranteed safety to be provided in complex production processes. Throughout the world—and this movement began 10-15 years ago—there exist quantitative criteria on safety assessment. Our scientists and engineers, and the supervisory bodies, have lagged behind this, and only now has the question been posed that over the course of 2-3 years these quantitative criteria for existing stations have been determined. And as far as newly projected stations are concerned, from 1991 projects will be examined by the gospromatomnadzor only in the event of such analyses being presented. But there is another serious question to be faced. The fact is that we must carry out a great deal of educative work to ensure that the public, the population, realises what are the quantitatively acceptable and unacceptable criteria. [end recording]

Deputies Shcherbak, Borovkov, and (Karasilnikov) took part in the debates on Comrade Malyshev's candidature. I would like to present for your attention an extract from Deputy Shcherbak's speech:

[Begin Shcerbak recording] What are the reasons, why is it that precisely now, today, that in our country it is not only nuclear power stations, submarines, factories, and trains that are going up in flames, so is the system, which has absorbed on the one hand industrial and power systems of unprecedented capacities and projects of the end of the 20th century, and on the other hand an unprecedented slump in labor and technological morale which has reached a critical level. That is why the gospromatomnadzor, which is now being created, will be at the baptism of the most intricate and painful problems of the development of our society. Imparting the committee with the status of independence is one of the crucial and strategic tasks, and you and I, comrade deputies, are the ones to do this. The committee must be retrieved from those branches which are under surveillance and its decisions must not be rescinded by ministries and departments. The philosophy of safety and its theoretical and experimental foundations must be the basis of the committee's work. I think it would be expedient to set up within the committee a special scientific-research institute which could in theory be called an Institute of the Science of Catastrophes [institut Katastrofologiyi] in which possible disaster situations could be examined and simulated. It is very important that, with the amalgamation of two different structures—the gosgortekhnadzor and the gosatomenergonadzor—a technically unmanageable conglomerate does not emerge.

Esteemed Vadim Mikhaylovic, the supreme body of power is today handing you the keys to the safety of our country's power industry. Much depends on you and your committee to ensure that the wormwood star [reference to part of Book of Revelations] does not threaten life on earth. [end recording]

According to the results of the voting, Vadim Mikhaylovich Malyshev was appointed chairman of the State Committee. The deputies then turned to discussing the candidature of Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov to the office of the chairman of the USSR State Security Committee.

Light Industry Chairman Approved

LD1407112989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Excerpts] In the Kremlin today, deputies continued their examination of candidates for the new government cabinet. [passage omitted]

The deputies supported the proposal to appoint Comrade Davletova as USSR minister-chairman of the State Committee for Light Industry at the USSR State Planning Committee.

With this the deputies completed their discussion of the candidates for government posts and decided to complete the formation of the cabinet on Monday.

A proposal by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who chaired the session, to send a greetings telegram to the Nenets national okrug on the occasion of its 60th anniversary was supported. A draft procedure for resolving industrial disputes, put forward as a legislative initiative from the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, was presented for

examination by the session. Deputy Suleymenov presented a deputy's question. With this the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet concluded its work today.

Yeltsin Calls for Cuts in KGB

LD1407174489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1030 GMT on 14 July carries an Igor Zorin report from the Kremlin on the 14 July joint session of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities. He notes that the names of 58 members of the USSR cabinet of ministers are now known, but that 1 nomination remains to be dealt with, while there are still more than 10 vacancies. He points out that Malyshev, Kryuchkov, and Davleteva were appointed during the morning session.

During the debates, Kryuchkov was asked how the KGB will deal with members of the militia who are involved in corruption in trade and industry. Deputy Lauristin repeated that the KGB should open up all the archives of Stalinist times, and noted that the KGB uses informers at Tartu University. The report continues that "Deputy Yeltsin proposed drastically reducing the staff of the KGB who, under the guise of seeking out spies, as he put it, are collecting information about the staff of many enterprises and institutions. In his words, in 4 years there has been no radical restructuring in the work of the KGB, particular in local bodies."

Deputy Yuriy Kamalovich Sharipov from Ufa, general director of the "Kirov" production association and a member of the Committee for Defense and State Security, pointed out that a huge state security committee building has been built in Ufa. He asked whether this building would be handed over for public use, and Kryuchov told him that it would be.

Zorin gives his impressions of the course of the formation of the government over the 3 weeks. Sharipov says: "I got the impression that after a procedure like that, anyone who is nominated, or any candidate for the post of minister, will think about it very seriously, because the procedure is very complicated. To begin with, the Council of Ministers submitted nominations to the Party's Central Committee, where they were examined. After that, we examined them at the commissions and committees. Ministers were assessed. The government sent 25 ministers packing. Zorin notes that according to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, 25 people were dispatched on pension and into retirement even earlier. Zorin says that during the course of the Supreme Soviet session a number of ministers were put to the ballot. It is moreover not so much the ministers who are put to the ballot, as the things that are being done in the industries of the national economy. Zorin says that today, ministers are not simply ministers." For example, Sharipov notes, a new ministry has been formed: the Ministry of Communications plus the Ministry of the Industrial Means of Communication. He adds that 76 people voted against Pervyshin's appointment to this ministry, but in reality they were voting against the amalgamation of the ministries, which was not discussed with their collectives and their party committees.

Urges 'Radical Restructuring'

LD1407221689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1629 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Statement by Boris Yeltsin during the debate on the confirmation of Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov as head of the KGB—from the recorded relay of the 14 July Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies: It will be difficult for me to raise my hand to vote for Comrade Kryuchkov's candidacy. Not because I have any personal grievances or complaints against him, but probably because before us there still lies the shadow of the thirties, and probably because before us are still the illegal activities of the KGB organs in the period of stagnation. And by and large it should be said that so far little has been done in these 4 years of perestroyka. We must expect that, when the revolution comes from above and when the apparat and the state administrative organs come gradually to be squeezed, they may—at some moment—have their weighty say. The KGB has had its weighty say on several occasions already. For this reason several of the answers to the questions put today by deputies seemed to me somewhat insincere. For instance, the so-called helpers which he [Kryuchkov] said several organizations have. In the first place, most of the major organizations do not have helpers, but a proper network of agents from State Security organs, and this causes great moral damage to our society, since they are not engaged in catching spies but are simply engaged in, well putting it mildly, let us say, gathering certain information. In my 10 years as first secretary of the Sverdlovsk oblast committee, I do not remember a single spy being caught with their assistance. But it is a thousands-strong army that constantly passes on information on what is happening in this or that collective. In my opinion this is quite intolerable for us in this period of democratization.

The next point: I believe that yes, of course we value what our counterintelligence is doing abroad, what our frontier guards do, and so on. They really do a great job and we have always been grateful to the State Security organs for this. But I am convinced that their contingent at home should be significantly cut. Their buildings are built not merely for the sake of beauty. Their buildings are built because the apparat is growing. I know that for sure. It is growing at the center and is growing in the provinces. And since that apparat is growing, it is becoming a supermonopolistic organization, and moreover an organization that could sometimes bring its influence to bear one way or another on the life of our society. Therefore, I propose a drastic reduction in the size of this organization at home, and, of course, a radical restructuring of the entire work of the Committee of State Security. A radical restructuring. As yet, over

these past 4 years there has been no such radical restructuring, and today comrade Kryuchkov has made no mention of this restructuring.

As for glasnost, what he has said today that deputies have never heard before [as heard]—that is 4 years on—and not of his own accord! In the past 4 years he has not, of his own accord, demonstrated the sense of civic courage to extend that glasnost which is going on throughout our country. I do not believe it is the case that—as he said—it is only on the basis of information from various public organizations that we have an indication of where the victims of the Stalinist repressions are interred. In the provinces the organs of State Security know these places, and he ought to take the personal initiative of helping us and the entire people, the whole country and all public organizations, by identifying these places. He should also make public how many people rest there today, and then they should be reinterred.

I would say that a law undoubtedly is needed on elections—or rather a law on State Security. And I believe serious changes are needed in the attitude of the Committee for State Security to the Church. A very democratic process is underway in our country. Attitudes toward the Church are changing among the political leadership of the country and in our society generally. The organs of State Security must seriously restructure their attitude, and perhaps even totally stop busying themselves with the Church as an independent organization, so to speak. In short, find another way of dealing with it.

I believe that the separation of counterintelligence and internal intelligence into two organizations is a question that could eventually be raised, so that we should not have a very strong monopolistic organization in all matters of intelligence and counterintelligence.

Those are my remarks. Thank you.

Deputies Discuss Kryuchkov, KGB's Work

LD1407133989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Jul 89

["At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" presented by Commentator A. Ruvinskiy]

[Excerpts] The joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities began at 1000 today with the discussion of Comrade Malyshev's candidacy for the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and the Nuclear Power Industry. [post name as received]. [passage omitted]

The discussion of Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov's candidacy for the post of State Security Committee [KGB] chairman attracted more attention of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies. The deputies even departed from the standing orders adopted earlier and asked Comrade Kryuchkov to reply to a maximum number of questions. In his speech the candidate to this post touched on practically all the aspects of the KGB's multifarious activities. Concerning one of the directions of the KGB's work this is what he said, in particular:

[Begin Kryuchkov recording] Recently the KGB chairman has given, for the first time, a report on the work of the state security bodies to the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on Defense and State Security. This was the first case of giving a public account; no such body simply existed earlier. This is the first time the KGB head, as a candidate for this post, is USSR Supreme Soviet. This is an event as far as the state security bodies are concerned. It marks a new quality in their work. It is evident from this alone that the state security bodies have also found themselves within the orbit of restructuring. Let me, from this lofty rostrum, say a few words about our intelligence gathering people. Peacetime, as far as they are concerned, is combat time. In grief and in joy, in success and in failure, the selfless and difficult struggle of intelligence gathering community is kept in safes. The name of those to whom all this belongs are, as a rule, made public only posthumously. I would like to stress that the Soviet people can, with complete justification, think of them with pride.

It is one of the most important tasks of intelligence-gathering activities to promote in every possible way the safeguarding of peace and the strengthening of the security of the Soviet state, its foreign positions and interests. Within this framework a number of tasks is tackled. Thus, up to 250,000 Soviet citizens are permanently abroad. They are specialists, those working in establishments and members of their families. The concern for their safety, especially in countries with complicated political or operational situations, is also a task for the KGB's intelligence-gathering activities.

Counterintelligence is one of the main directions of the activities of the state security bodies that is to say, protection of our interests and secrets. The military counterintelligence takes an active part in safeguarding the safety of all services of our armed forces, wherever they are. Over the past few years alone approximately 30 agents of special services of some Western countries have been exposed and have had criminal proceedings brought against them by the security bodies.

Border troops form part of the KGB. Our state has the longest border: almost 62,000 km. Some 22,000 km of these are on land borders. Since 1985 the border troops have been protecting the 200 mile sea economic zone; its water area is 8.6 million km. There are huge riches in the economic zone. According to the Soviet and international law, they belong to the Soviet Union and their protection is of an exceptional national economic significance for us. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] These data, too, were cited in the speech: Last year alone 23 million people, including 12 million foreign citizens, crossed the USSR border. Comrade Kryuchkov also spoke of the KGB's role in the struggle against terrorism and organized crime. As I said, there were very many questions. Well, listen to just one reply to one question:

[Begin Kryuchkov recording] Is the KGB eavesdropping on telephone conversations of Soviet citizens, also, are they doing so when there is no direct charge against them or suspicion of them having ties with foreign intelligence services or terrorist organizations? No, it is not. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] The questions touched on an evaluation of the events in Hungary in 1956, the recent events in Andizhan, and many other problems. During the discussions, deputies spoke on trenchant problems. Here is a fragment of the speech by Deputy Lauristin from Estonia:

[Begin Lauristin recording] And in my opinion, I nevertheless do think that there was no point in telling us that the KGB does not make use of secret informers. As a university lecturer, I personally know many students at home in Tartu, and I do not think that is an exception; for some of our students, when they failed exams and they were threatened with being thrown out of university, they found themselves in a situation in which our local KGB body promised them help in getting back into an institute or university and so on if in return they would inform on their students, colleagues, and teachers. That is a fact. These are facts of 2-3 years' standing. It is outrageous. However, such facts have still not been acknowledged and it was even considered criminal to speak of them. And in my opnion, it is now time to speak honestly of such things and renounce them. In my opinion, the new chairman of the KGB, as he showed himself here to us, should, in my view, deal also with these methods of work of his agencies. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] Deputy Sobchak touched on a number of important questions, including that of the buildings which house the KGB directorates.

[Begin recording] [Sobchak] So far, the organizations of the [State Security] Committee, especially in provincial cities and in the capital, occupy the most architecturally striking and in their size the most expressive buildings. I was recently at a conference in Ufa and when I saw one of the most beautiful and palatial buildings which occupies more than a block, and asked: What is that in your city? A hospital, or perhaps some other organization? I was told: Why, it is the building of the State Security Committee, of course.

[Gorbachev] Incidentally, when Nikolay Ivanovich and I were there in connection with the accident which took place in Ufa, when we were going around Ufa and said: What sort of building is that?, they said that they had recently moved into it. And I said: How could they move into it in times like ours? How could they leave the old one and move into it. And I expressed the wish that they return to it.

[Sobchak] Excellent, Mikhail Sergeyevich. [laughter in hall] If the State Security Committee examines that question and occupies, be it quite a spacious but more modest building, that will have the appropriate political effect. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] Well, you have probably already realized that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also took part in that discussion. After the vote, Comrade Kryuchkov was confirmed in the post of KGB chairman.

At the same sitting Lyudmila Yelmatovna Davletova's candidacy for the post of minister of the USSR chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Light Industry [post as heard] under the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] was discussed. After the program of the committee's activities was set forth, the deputies voted without any discussion and confirmed Comrade Davletova in this post. Until then she worked as secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. In the session's conclusion, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev supported the proposal of a number of deputies to send a greetings telegram in connection with the 60th anniversary of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug. It was also decided to hand over to the commissions and committees for conclusion a draft law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes presented by the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

At Deputy Suleymenov's proposal, it was decided to adopt a document condemning the practice of repression of the peoples of our country, which took place in the period of Stalinism and also to address the call to U.S. Congress to end nuclear tests.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also proposed sending congratulations and wishes to the French National Assembly and to the people of France in connection with the bicentenery of the great French Revolution. This proposal was approved by the session. It finished today's work and will continue working next Monday.

Kryuchkov 'Grilled' by Deputies

LD1407122889 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 14 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Vladimir Kryuchkov, KGB chief since October 1988, was grilled by Supreme Soviet deputies for almost one and a half hours today before being finally confirmed in his post.

He answered all manner of questions—serious, naive and bitter, born of recollections of the Stalin times when the secret service kept tabs on the entire society.

Kryuchkov formally assured the deputies that the KGB today does not maintain a network of informants, does not keep any files on people who have not committed state crimes, and does not tap telephone calls.

Many questions he had to parry concerned ethnic conflicts. Asked by some deputies about the involvement of foreign centres and secret services in these conflicts, he said that their causes should be sought primarily on home ground.

Kryuchkov added, however, that in a number of cases there indeed are connections with abroad, which are not always criminal but sometimes border on it.

Challenged to formulate his attitude to popular fronts and other mass political movements, he backed them unequivocally, saying that they have a future on condition that they abide by the Constitution.

The substantive answers satisfied most deputies. One idea repeatedly stressed during the debate was that the distorted image of the KGB was due to people's generally poor knowledge about it.

Suspicion is bred by ignorance, speakers said, urging greater openness about KGB activities.

Moscow Deputy Boris Yeltsin made perhaps the most radical proposal, calling for separating intelligence from counter- intelligence, so that there shall be no monopoly on this important sphere of work.

In his opinion, the shadow of lawlessness from the 1930s and the stagnation years of Leonid Brezhnev's leadership still falls on the KGB which has done too little to reorganise its activities.

Vladimir Lapygin, chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Defence and State Security, told deputies about the preliminary discussion of Kryuchkov's candidacy there, pointing out the nominee's competence, qualifications, democratic attitudes, decency and modesty.

The committee satisfied itself that there are no political prisoners in the USSR, Lapygin said. He also called for a law on state security.

Lapygin told the deputies that his committee unanimously supported Kryuchkov for KGB chairman.

The Supreme Soviet re-appointed Kryuchkov to the past by a majority vote, with just six of the attending 400-odd deputies voting against him and 26 abstaining.

Sobchak on KGB, Kryuchkov Candidacy

LD1407224489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1426 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Statement by Deputy Anatoliy A. Sobchak during the debate on confirmation of Vladimir Kyuchkov's candidacy, with interjection by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev—from the recorded relay of the 14 July Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin]

[Excerpts] [Sobchak] Esteemed comrade deputies! I will be voting for Vladimir Aleksandrovich, and I call on you to do likewise. I did not ask for the floor to voice support for him, however, but to make use of the debate to raise a whole catalogue of issues relating to further improving our political structure, our new political system, and the KGB's place in this political structure. Above all, it was the case for decades—it began in the thirties or perhaps even earlier—that the heads of the KGB, or whatever other names it has gone under in the history of our country, were always above the political leadership of the country. They were always members of the Politburo or the top body in our Communist Party.

Taking the purely legal aspect of this matter, the KGB should be under the control, from the point of view of observing the law in its workings, of the USSR procuracy, the supreme court, and the whole judicial system. How could this control be implemented when the leader of the KGB is a member of the top political leadership of the country, while the heads of these organizations, including the procurator general, are not members—and quite rightly so—of the top political leadership of the country?

I believe that within our new political system, as we carry out the decision of the 19th party conference on delimiting the functions of party and state organs, we should henceforward raise the question of making sure that the leaders of the KGB are never again part of the top political leadership of the country. Of course, above all this is up to the party itself, but I would say it is also up to the supreme body of our state power.

Furthermore, it was stated here—and I believe quite correctly—by the current committee chairman that the place of the committee and its relationship with the local party and state bodies should be enshrined in law so that the KGB could never bring its influence to bear in replacing the state system or in replacing particular individuals in our leadership. To this very day, because of legal regulations that are not sufficiently clear on this point, it has very often been the case that the bodies of the KGB in the provinces have been more dependent on local party and state bodies—more often than not the party bodies—than on the central authorities. I believe we must enshirine in law greater centralization and independence for these organizations. Specifically from the point of view of state security.

I could give you an example from the very recent past February of this year—when a plenum of the Leningrad Oblast committee made the decision to charge the procuracy and the KGB with taking certain steps against the informal organizations and so on. Party bodies should not be giving this sort of task to the organs of state security. The KGB is a part of the state system and only state organs should be able to give any official instructions to these organs. We can only do this once we have enshrined in law the whole system or relationships between these organs and the organs of state. I believe that is one of the most important matters in the delimitation of the political functions and the functions of the party and state organs in our system. [passage omitted]

My final point, a pet peeve perhaps, but it is a matter that is of enormous political and moral significance. To this very day, the committee's organizations, particularly in provincial towns and capitals, occupy the most architecturally striking and largest buildings. I was at a conference in Ufa recently. When I spotted one of the most beautiful palatial buildings that occupied more than a block and asked whether it was a hospital or perhaps some other organization, I was told: Oh come on! That is the building that belongs to the KGB.

[Gorbachev] Incidentally, when Nikolay Ivanovich [Ryzhkov] and I were in Ufa in the wake of the accident, we were riding through Ufa and asked: What is that building there?

[Sobchak] I believe....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] We were told that they had moved there just recently. I said: How could they move there in our times? Leave where they were and move?

[Sobchak] At once....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] I expressed the wish that they return.

[Sobchak] Wonderful, Mikhail Sergeyevich! Because at once I gained the impression that the number of spies in Bashkiriya is significantly greater than the average for the territory of the country as a whole. [laughter] If the KGB examined this matter and took up fairly spacious but more modest accommodation, that would have a suitable political effect.

Kryuchkov 14 Jul Kremlin Speech

LD1407213789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Speech by Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, chairman of the Committee for State Security, made prior to his reappointment at a 14 July USSR Supreme Soviet joint session in the Kremlin, followed by his reading and answering deputies prepared questions—recorded]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrade deputies: Recently the KGB chairman gave, for the first time, a report on the work of the state security bodies to the Committee for the Issues of Defense and State Security of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This was the first case of giving a public account—no such body existed earlier. Today is the first time that a KGB head is speaking, addressing the USSR Supreme Soviet as a candidate for this post. This is quite an event as far as the state security bodies are concerned. It marks a new quality in their work. It is evident from this alone that the state security bodies, too, find themselves within the orbit of perestroyka.

Very briefly, I will inform you about certain functions and tasks of the KGB and its organs. The intelligence service: It is evident from individual publications in our mass media that we do indeed have a direction of activity such as this, although we did not speak directly about it. It was somehow not the accepted thing to do. Allow me to say a few words from this lofty rostrum about our intelligence officers. For them, peacetime is also a time of everyday action. Grief and joy, successes and failure—the selfless and difficult struggle of the intelligence gathering community is kept in safes. The names of those to whom all this belongs are, as a rule, made public only posthumously. I would like to stress that the Soviet people can, with complete justification, think of them with pride.

It is one of the most important tasks of intelligence gathering activities to promote in every possible way the safeguarding of peace and the strengthening of the security of the Soviet state, its foreign positions, and its interests. Within this framework a number of tasks are tackled. Thus, up to 250,000 Soviet citizens are permanently abroad. They are specialists, those working in establishments, and members of their familes. The concern for their safety, especially in countries with complicated political or operational situations, is also a task of the KGB's intelligence gathering direction.

Counterintelligence is one of the main directions of the activities of the state security bodes; that is to say, the protection of our interests and secrets. Military counterintelligence takes an active part in safeguarding the safety of all services of our armed forces, wherever they are. Over the past few years alone, approximately 30 agents of special services of some Western countries have been exposed and have had criminal prosecutions brought against them by the state security bodies.

The organization of secret, private communications is an important area, which is many-faceted in respect to the methods and stability with which it is implemented. The KGB ensures cypher communictions within the country and beyond its boundaries.

Border troops are part of the KGB. Our state has the longest border, almost 62,000 km. Some 22,000 km of this are on land. Since 1985, the border troops have been protecting the 200-mile sea economic zone—its water area is 8.6 million square kilometres. There are huge

riches in the economic zone. According to Soviet and international law, they belong to the Soviet Union, and their protection is of an exceptional national economic significance for us.

The KGB wages a fight against terrorism, including international acts of sabotage. In the fight against terrorism, we are ready to cooperate with other states, including capitalist states. The impending nuclear terrorism is for us very dangerous. The fact is that on the globe several tonnes of enriched uranium have disappeared from sites where they were produced and stored. It is not technically difficult to make a nuclear device, and this will mean that individual groups can terrorize not only towns, but also entire countries.

A fight is being waged against smuggling and foreign currency operations, and against drug trafficking. Over the last 3 years, 12 tonnes of narcotics have been confiscated from criminals. We have carried out a number of opeations in conjunction with the special services of other countries, including capitalist countries.

The KGB has specialized educational institutions. One can say without any exaggeration that perestroyka and the renewal of Soviet society has affected every aspect of the activities of the Cheka organs. This is dictated by the situation itself, and the changing conditions of life of society and state. From this then is derived the urgent need to draw up new conceptions of the activities and development of the state security organs, which are called upon to touch on the essence, form and methods of their work. We consider that qualitatively new principles for the correlation between security and the state should be formulated and implemented. It is not the interests of society and the state which should be accommodated to the activities of the organs of the KGB and their services. On the contrary, the KGB organs and their services should be strictly subject to the interests of society and the state, and should take these as the point of departure. Given such an approach, a great deal will fall into the necessary channel from the point of view of the place and role of the state security organs in the system of Soviet statehood.

This can be explained using the following examples: It would be convenient for us if no one in our country entered or left the USSR. However, our state's foreign ties are expanding and becoming deeper at a fast rate, in all spheres. Last year, over 23 million people crossed the borders of the Soviet Union, 12 million of them foreign citizens. Is this many or few? Both in absolute and in relative terms this is as yet few, but this is only the beginning. Just take Hungary, which has a population of 10.6 million: last year, about 20 million foreign citizens entered that country or crossed its borders.

The character of secrets is changing, as is our idea of them; some secrets are disappearing, while new ones emerge. For us, the protection of commercial secrets and commercial secrecy has become very topical. The fact is that thousands and thousands of our enterprises have embarked upon direct trade and economic ties with other countries. But we are still very bad businessmen. Unless we guard commercial secrecy, the losses for our state could run into thousands of millions.

Approaches to guarding the state borders are changing. The depth of the border zone in our country varies between 1 and 15 kms, while in certain northern regions it reaches 600 km. Earlier, this automatically involved substantial restrictions on national economic activity. Now, however, the overwhelming majority of restrictions have been lifted.

The crime situation in the country compels us to sharply widen the KGB's involvement in the fight against it, first and foremost against its most dangerous form, namely, organized crime. The KGB did not stand aside from this before, but the crime situation in the country has become more difficult, and crime, primarily organized crime, has reached a dangerous level. It is important to take urgent measures to nip in the bud the rise of criminal manifestations, and then to bring about a steady reduction. Wider involvement of the state security organs in this matter will demand that their competence be amended, and that a number of legislative acts be given more precise definition.

The KGB is carrying out a great deal of work concerning rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinism misdeeds. Involvement in this means the necessity, and even the requirement, for a new generation of Cheka officers, who took no part in the tragic period of the past, to go through the pain of misdeeds and losses that the people, and the state security organs themselves, suffered; to experience the pain both politically and emotionally, so as never again to permit anything similar to happen. There are few archive documents; time has done its work, and there are virtually no living witnesses left. The state security organs are carrying out painstaking research: Burial places are being found—in conjunction with local authority organs—the sites where those who suffered innocently are buried are being put into decent order.

The state security organs strictly observe in their activities socialist legality and normative acts. I should like to assure the Supreme Soviet that the state of affairs is now precisely this. But assurances alone are not enough. It is natural to ask: But where is the guarantee that not even the shadow of 1937 will fall upon the work of the state security organs? There should be an entire system of such guarantees, eliminating all fears in this regard. The realization of the principles of democracy and glasnost in all the activities of the state security organs is a major guarantee. Soviet people have a right to know about the activities of and the nature of the work of the KGB organs. This is in the interests of the organs themselves, insofar as it will help to form an objective notion of the state security organs, their duty, obligations and rights.

It is important to make the ties between the state security organs and the public and labor collectives both permanent and effective. In this case, it is possible to count upon the support and participation of the working people in tackling the tasks of ensuring state security. The KGB organs, and the law enforcement organs in general, no matter what potential forces and means they have at their disposal, cannot alone tackle effectively the tasks confronting them. This can be done only together with the people, with daily support from the public.

We are convinced that the security organs, like all the law enforcement organs, should proceed from the tenet that they should wage the fight not against the individual, but for the individual. This humane principle should be the determining one, even, that is, in the case of an individual infringing the law. Further improved legislation and strenthening of the legislative bases of the activity of the state security organs are an important guarantee. We now have the utmost need of a law on state security and provisions and perhaps also a law on the KGB. The basic, normative document of the KGB is 30 years old, and more. During this time, profound changes have taken place, new conditions have taken shape.

There is another, fundamental guarantee: Namely monitoring [kontrol] by the representative organs of Soviet power, the new Supreme Soviet Committee on Issues of Defense and State Security. The KGB, incidentally, was one of those initiating the establishment of this committee. We, of course, understand that an appropriate mechanism must be set up for the work of this committee. Not everything is perfect in the work of the state security organs: We have serious shortcomings and omissions. Perestroyka in the organs has not yet attained the necessary speed and depth: In order to prevent a great calamity, a small calamity must be perceived as soon as it springs up. It is here that we not infrequently fail to give incisive and principled evaluation of emergent difficult situations. We fail to display a principled and steadfast stand in putting issues before the local and also central organs of power. There is evident influence of a psychological barrier and timidity, engendered by a whole series of political and social events and circumstances and the difficult and critical nature of the situation in the country, and by an inability to discern the negative aspects which would put one on the alert, amidst the processes—on the whole constructive ones—which are developing at a turbulent rate. It is particularly difficult in cases involving conflict situations based on interethnic relations, alongside the eruption of mass disturbances.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that cadres and cadre policy are a major factor in the perestroyka of the work of the state security organs. The entire operational staff has a higher education, and a considerable number have, in addition to the higher education received in the civilian educational establishments, further special training. However, it is not this parameter that is the determining one. The main factor lies in the internal, spiritual world of the member of the state security organs, his democratic and civic perception of surrounding reality, his readiness to assist in the renewal of society and his unconditional loyalty to the motherland. A high measure of exactingness must be at work in the state security organs. This is why we are decisively ridding ourselves of all those who have compromised themselves. Such a degree of exactingness may seem to some people to be excessive, but there is no alternative. This is one of the lessons we have drawn from the experience of the past.

I should like to give my backing to a proposal that has been voiced here at the Supreme Soviet on the need for improved coordination of the activities of the law enforcement organs. The KGB is ready, together with other ministries and departments, to take the most active part in drawing up such proposals and submit them for the consideration of the appropriate commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet. the sooner this is done the better. Thank you for your attention. Now to your questions.

[passage omitted] Some deputies from the Kalmyk Republic ask if they can obtain access to materials from the KGB archives concerning the repressions against the Kalmyk people during the time of the cult of the individual. We shall look into the matter, and it seems to me that there is no need to drag this matter out. The sooner we clear up this and similar issues, the better things will be for us. [passage omitted]

Comrade Lauristen has submitted 10 questions, so allow me to answer them in brief. What is being done in the KGB bodies in order to de-Stalinize them and to create guarantees against a repetition of lawlessness? I touched on this question earlier: I want to say that this is merely part of the issues we are working on. We have done a great deal, but much still remains to be done to create conditions that rule out any repetition of the severe events of the past in the state security bodies.

When will scholars and public representatives be given access to KGB archives of Stalin's times, and when will the families of those repressed be able to find out everything about the fates of their kith and kin? Many documents have been made public and they are being used in the work of the relevant commissions. We have placed many documents at the disposal of scholars, but in order to establish complete order and clarity in this matter a special law on working with archives is required. Incidentally, such laws exist in all the developed capitalist countries. As for the truth about those who perished for their relatives and close ones, our legislation makes no provision for informing relatives about criminal cases. By way of experiment, if I can put it that way, we handed over some documents for information, but you know, the impressions we got were very difficult ones, because the conditions were severe. There were instances of slander and incommensurate conduct,

and I think a very cautious approach must be taken to this issue. But at any rate there will be no problem if anyone insists on being informed about various cases, though I repeat that the legislation does not cater for this.

Do you have any figures on how many veterans of the KGB, the OGPU [Unified State Political Administration], and other bodies of repression who were personally involved in illegal repressions are now receiving personal and departmental pensions? And if you have any specific instances please mention them. Some of them have been stripped of their pensions, and some, depending on what they did, receive partial pensions. But I would like to say that the time factor has taken its toll and there are few of them left. [passage omitted]

When will the human rights activists and dissidents sentenced under Article 70 and 190(1) during the stagnation period for activities we now call restructuring be rehabilitated? My attitude toward those court trials is a negative one and this work is being carried out.

What role is played by foreign states and their intelligence services in organizing and controlling the process of whipping up interethnic strife, particularly concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh problem? I can say that what is happening in our country is of interest, and very great interest, to the special services of the Western countries and certain other countries, and in particular to various kinds of organizations that often adopt antisocialist and anti-Soviet stances. We can sense this, first of all, from the propaganda, from the trips their emissaries make here and the literature they bring. There is also another trend known as Islamic fundamentalism. This is a very dangerous thing, given its fanaticism and indiscrimiante choice of methods and means. I think this is matter for the state security bodies, for the law enforcement bodies, and for all our organizations engaged in propaganda work. [passage omitted]

In many countries—the United States, Britain, Sweden—the intelligence services are set aside as separate departments, rather than being amalgamated with counterintelligence, as in our country. Do you, as a professional, feel that such an amalgamation is expedient? Well, it is indeed true that in some countries intelligence is separate from the other special services bodies. I would say that this is generally based not on operational considerations, but on political considerations—a fear, for instance, of excessive concentration of the special services' power in one pair of hands, and so on. There are both pros and cons, but when you weigh them up you come to the conclusion that intelligence and counterintelligence really ought to work in a single channel. That is the way to success. If their forces and resources were to be uncoupled I think this would have a negative effect on the efficiency of their work. That is our view. [passage omitted]

At least three main directorates of the KGB deal with domestic affairs in the country, including ideology. Do you consider it possible to preserve the Stalinist-Brezhnevite structure of surveillance of Soviet people's thoughts? If not, then why is the present structure being maintained? No, comrades. The structure is not being maintained, and the subdepartment you are thinking of virtually no longer exists. New proposals have been drawn up in this respect. [passage omitted]

Responds To Journalists' Questions

LD1407150389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1352 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Jul (TASS)—TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR State Security Committee [KGB], who was appointed to that post by the Soviet Parliament today, has described today as one of the most moving moments in his life, both in emotional and in political terms.

After the session, the KGB chief was surrounded by a tight ring of journalists reporting the session, who wanted know how he felt after such a procedure. Vladimir Kryuchkov said that for him, as for the other government members, it was "the toughest exam in his life".

Answering a question from the TASS parliamentary correspondent as to how he sees the security service's role under restructuring, Vladimir Kryuchkov replied that a review of that role has started. "We have only gone half way," he remarked. The KGB chairman considers the development of democracy and glasnost to be the most important thing. "Both the Soviet people and the world public should know more about us," he said. "We would like to show everyone that although it is not an ideal organization, the KGB is motivated by the most humane of goals. It has a heavy past, but that past is not ours alone. It is the past of the party and the country."

"We want to to be in the flow of the vast work of restructuring and renewing our society. We want to make a substantial contribution to the establishment of good relations between states. Our goals and purposes are also fully in accordance with that goal," Vladimir Kryuchkov said.

Another question from the TASS correspondent concerned organized crime in the USSR and its attempts to gain an international dimension. The KGB chairman replied that such crime in the Soviet Union has not reached the level that it has in the West, but it is looking for contacts beyond the country's borders. In that regard, the KGB chairman believes there are possibilities for cooperation with other countries that also suffer from organized crime. Vladimir Kryuchkov said that he does not exclude serious talks with Interpol.

And is cooperation with the United States' CIA possible? The chairman has no doubts on that score: such cooperation is, in his view, possible in the war against terrorism and drugs. "We support cooperation on all matters that concern the defense of general human values," he stressed.

In this connection, the journalists were interested in where the line should be drawn between glasnost and necessary secrecy. In Kryuchkov's view, substantial adjustments have to be made concerning secrecy. "Whether we like it or not, secrecy as such limits and weakens supervision, including supervision of the state security bodies, and that is inadmissable. At the same time, we cannot renounce secrecy. It must exist. So we cannot disregard it completely."

Replying to a question about the limits of the KGB's authority, the chairman said that the limits of the committee's powers should be defined by laws, which are still imperfect. "When we draw up a law on state security and a set of provisions on the committee, all the limits will be defined then." In his view it will take 6-12 months.

On the subject of the trials of so-called dissidents that were held in the USSR at the end of the sixties and in the seventies, the KGB chairman stated that he has a negative attitude about them. Today, he said, there is not a single prisoner in the USSR who was convicted in cases arising in that period. Kryuchkov supports the restoration of the truth on this matter, and, although much has already been done, he believes that more still needs to be done. "Aside from the juridical rehabilitation, there is also the moral and ethical aspect, which must not be disregarded," he noted.

In conclusion, the KGB chairman stressed that he hopes for fruitful cooperation with the parliamentary Committee for Defense and State Security Questions. "We are pinning very great hopes on it. We believe that Soviet power should supervise everything which is subordinated to it. And everything is subordinated to it, including the KGB. Our task now is to justify the confidence in the KGB that was expressed at the session," he declared.

14 Jul Session Ends

LD1407124589 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 14 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Supreme Soviet ended its working day today by sending congratulations to the National Assembly and people of France on the bicentennial of the great French Revolution.

On behalf of the nation, the Soviet MP's declared a desire to strengthen cooperation with French people and wished them peace and progress.

The Supreme Soviet did not manage, however, to complete forming the government, as expected.

Practically the entire morning was devoted to discussing incumbent Vladimir Kryuchkov for KGB chairman. He was confirmed in the job only after a thorough discussion.

The Supreme Soviet also re-appointed Vadim Malyshev as head of the state committee supervising safety in industry and the nuclear power sector.

It endorsed Lyudmila Davletova, a former secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, as the second female government member following the election of Aleksandra Biryukova as a deputy premier.

Davletova will hold ministerial rank and oversee consumer goods production.

The Supreme Soviet ended its session for the week-end at 14:00 [1000 GMT].

Several parliamentary committees and commissions met in the afternoon.

The Supreme Soviet will meet in full session again on July 17 when it will complete the government-forming process.

Parliament is expected next week to hear a government report on the causes of the grave railway accident in the Ural Mountains on June 3, which claimed many lives.

Supreme Soviet Holds Joint Session 17 Jul

LD1707064889 Moscow TASS in English 0641 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

After two days off the USSR Supreme Soviet holds today a joint session of the two chambers—the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. It is chaired by Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy president of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Much remains to be done by parliamentarians during three weeks that are left before the summer vacations. After they complete the formation of the government and other central bodies, which has been going on since late June, they will discuss the schedule of the fulfillment of instructions given to the parliament by the recent Congress of the USSR People's Deputies. The parliamentarians will analyse decrees of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet which will become laws only after they are endorsed by the session.

Draft laws submitted for the consideration of the session take up a major part of the agenda. There are over ten of them, including specially important ones, such as draft

fundamentals of the criminal code and of the organisation of courts, draft laws on the press, on the association of citizens and on the imposition of taxes on the population.

Most probably, the parliamentarians will have time for a discussion only after the first reading.

Durasov, Panichev Appointed Ministers

LD1707104389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] At the USSR Supreme Soviet session. Over to our commentator Vladimir Korablev:

[Korablev] The Soviet parliament entered its 4th week of work today. At the morning session of the USSR Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, which was opened by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, the deputies continued forming the USSR Government. This work is expected to be completed today. They deputies also have to endorse the People's Control Committee and the State Arbitrage Collegium.

Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov put forward for endorsement USSR Supreme Soviet member Vladimir Aleksandrovich Durasov, who has been recommended for the post of USSR minister. He will work as first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee. [passage omitted] Vladimir Aleksandrovich Durasov was appointed USSR minister and first deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee on a majority vote. The deputies then began debating the nomination of Nikolay Aleksandrovich Panichev, whom Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov recommended for the post of minister of the machine-tool building industry. Comrade Panichev spoke in detail about the main strands of restructuring in the ministry's work, which are aimed at reviewing the structure of the equipment being produced, increasing production of high-quality machine tools and technological lines and equipment for processing agricultural produce and manufacturing consumer goods. In his speech Comrade Panichev devoted much attention to fulfilling the industry's social programs. He noted that there are plans for a considerable increase in the construction of housing and social and domestic facilities, and for improvements in working and leisure conditions for those who work in the industry. By a majority vote the Supreme Soviet endorsed Aleksey [as heard] Aleksandrovich Panichev as minister of the USSR machine-tool building industry.

The Supreme Soviet session has been receiving letters from individual citizens and organizations asking for a number of the candidates rejected by the Supreme Soviet for USSR Government posts to be reconsidered. This concerns, in particular, Comrade Polad-Zade, who was recommended for the post of minister of water industry construction, Comrade Konarev, as USSR minister of the railways, and Comrade Kamentsev, as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Under the existing procedures, however, these nominations have to be put forth once again by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade Ryzhkov. The only one of the above candidates that he supported was Polad-Zade, put on a majority vote the deputies decided not to renew the debate on that matter.

At the moment the USSR Supreme Soviet session is in adjournment.

11 Ministerial Posts Remain

LD1707092489 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet today completed the discussion of nominees for the posts of deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, ministers, and heads of state committees. The last on the list were Vladimir Durasov and Nikolay Panichev. Durasov, former minister of non-ferrous metallurgy, will now be first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee with the rank of minister. Panichev was again appointed minister of the machine-tool and tool industry.

Some 60 members of the government have been endorsed during the past three weeks. In accordance with the Constitution, the USSR Council of Ministers will include heads of government of all 15 union republics. Their candidatures were not discussed by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

There are 11 vacancies left in the Council of Ministers, specifically, the posts of the first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers in charge of the food sector, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers to head the Foreign Economic Commission, five ministers (those of culture, of water-management development, of railways, of timber industry and of oil and gas industry), three chairmen of the state committees (on prices, on environmental protection and for physical culture and sports) and head of the USSR State Bank.

These posts became vacant for various reasons. Some of the nominees were not recommended by parliamentary committees and commissions in preliminary hearings, others were rejected by the Supreme Soviet and still others were withdrawn by Prime Minister Ryzhkov. It is not yet known when the head of government will name other candidates.

Summary of Supreme Soviet 13 July Proceedings

PM1707090189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondents G. Alimov, E. Gonzalyez, A. Plutnik, and V. Shchepotkin: "The Man and the Department"]

[Text] On 12 and 13 July the USSR Supreme Soviet appointed V.I. Shcherbakov, V.N. Kirichenko, and G.A. Yagodin chairmen of state committees.

On the morning of 13 July the USSR Supreme Soviet under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev continued to discuss the candidate for the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education. The day before G.A. Yagodin had set forth his program and answered questions. It remained to hear the deputies' opinion and to vote.

There were many deputies anxious to mount the rostrum. As matters turned out nine deputies spoke before the voting and two more afterward. The explanation for this interest evidently lies in the fact that nearly everyone was convinced of the extremely grave, neglected, and simply critical state of public education. The deputies spoke of the deterioration of the health of children of school age, of the difficulties of student life, the problems of rural schools, and much else.

Some speakers noted that the candidate for the post of chairman of the state committee has already done quite a lot in a brief period but others accused him of half-heartedness and contradictoriness in his decisions. Yu.A. Ryzhov, chairman of the committee for science, public education, culture, and upbringing, as it were summed up the discussion. He also expressed himself on "the lamentable state of public education" and cited the reasons for it. But in appointing the state committee leader, Yu.A. Ryzhov said, we must probably sense first of all whether he is capable of creative thinking, of seeking solutions, of initiative, and independence, in brief, capable of action. If he is, then much can be forgiven—from errors in the time of stagnation even to his not very successful speeches here, at the Supreme Soviet. That is how the committee members approached G.A. Yagodin in deciding to recommend him.

The speeches after the vote contained specific proposals for extricating public education from the crisis. Perhaps the most realistic was the proposal of Deputy V.G. Razumovskiy on reducing admission to higher educational establishments so that the rest could receive everything necessary for the study process.

G.A. Yagodin was approved as chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education by a majority of votes.

M.F. Nenashev was nominated for the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The contender rightly noted that the work of television and radio is there for all to see. That is why he merely voiced a few of his ideas so that the deputies could assess, so to speak, the way of thinking of the man for whom they would vote, and he answered questions.

The discussion and voting were adjourned until after the intermission.

Discussion developed at the session on several questions of the work and daily life of USSR Supreme Soviet members without a Moscow residence permit. The reason for the discussion was the statement by Leningrader Yu.Yu. Boldyrev that the deputies are allegedly being "fed" with books and cosmetics kits and are being "tamed."

A.A. Korshunov, B.I. Oleynik, and R.A. Medvedev sharply assessed Yu.Yu. Boldyrev's position. The speakers stressed the deputies' independence and freedom of action and opinion. As for the conditions of the Supreme Soviet's work and daily life, the said, then on the contrary, they have not been sufficiently considers and deputies themselves pay to stay in hotels, pay for official telephone calls, and eat like everyone else.

M.S. Gorbachev urged the deputies to set an example of restraint and a high standard and not to make hasty, thoughtless statements. In connection with the discussion he instructed A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the chairmen of the chambers to investigate the matter and to take the necessary steps to ensure normal conditions for the work of members of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

...Looking back and surveying nearly 3 weeks of debates in the USSR Supreme Soviet, today we can say with a certain amount of confidence that if not every day then at least many days of its work have their own face, so to speak, their own characteristic mark. If we are talking about yesterday, this mark was its keen social orientation, the deputies' unfeigned, deep interest in what only yesterday, in many people's opinion, was considered of little importance and therefore as meriting the "residual principle," both moral and material.

But life has shown otherwise. Everything relating to man's daily needs and his spiritual development and material provision cannot be secondary. Because it has strategic importance for the country's destiny. And the present people's elected representatives understand this perfectly. Graphic proof of this was the 12 July discussion of the candidacies for the posts of leaders of the "social departments," so to speak. For instance, during the examination of the candidacy of G.A. Yagodin, nominated by N.I. Ryzhkov for the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, 29 people expressed the desire to speak. But when the first 4 deputies had spoken it turned out that the line had not only not grown smaller but had on the contrary increased—to 31 people. As A.I. Lukyanov, who was in the chair, noted, this did not happen even during the discussion of the candidate for the post of chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

But all this took place at the end of the 12 July evening sitting, which ended with no final decision being taken on the appointment of G.A. Yagodin. The discussion was adjourned to the following day.

Actually, the situation was repeated. After all, the morning sitting on that day began with the resumption of the debates, interrupted the evening before, on Yu.A. Izrael, candidate for the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology.

We described in the previous issue how the debates proceeded. Let us add merely that deputies S.M. Ryabchenko, M.Ch. Zalikhanov, Yu.F. Kaznin, V.I. Semukha, Ye.N. Auyelbekov, G.I. Filshin, A.V. Yablokov, V.S. Venglovskaya, S.F. Akhromeyev. V.D. Romanenko, and V.S. Shevchenko took part in them. And at the same time let us note one more characteristic detail. From time to time, particularly in the first days of the sitting of the Supreme Soviet, we frequently heard it said that clear-cut criteria had not yet been found in assessing a particular contender for a government post. But today these criteria are being discerned increasingly clearly. Thus, in speaking of the strong and weak aspects of contenders, the speakers closely linked a high degree of professionalism with the need in all cases without exception to be mindful primarily of the man and not of so-called departmental interest and they drew special attention to the personal qualities of contenders since it was not simply a case of candidates for high government posts but also of those on whom the welfare of millions of people, society's ecological and social health, and its intellectual baggage will depend tomorrow. It was with these yardsticks that the deputies approached Yu.A. Izrael, who was approved by a majority of votes as chairman of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology, V.M. Serov, appointed chairman of the USSR State Committee for Construction, V.I. Shcherbakov, who held the post of chairman of State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and V.N. Kirichenko, who headed the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

The same, if not more partial, attitude was displayed toward G.A. Yagodin. It was not for nothing, on leaving the rostrum after a quite graphic and vigorous account of his program, which includes at the same time answers to many of the questions put to him, that he took with him several dozen more notes.

Finally, we would like to add the following characteristic detail of the day. Of the five contenders for government portfolios, only two held the posts for which they were again being recommended. They were Yu.A. Izrael and G.A. Yagodin. Here, whereas the former has headed his department for nearly 15 years, the latter came to lead the country's public education only in the years of restructuring. The remaining three are new to the government. For instance, V.I. Shcherbakov is the youngest member of the new cabinet. Despite quite serious criticism for individual shortcomings in the candidate's program, all legislators taking part in the debates for all that expressed trust in the contender. The people's deputies urged V.I. Shcherbakov to pay the most serious attention toward the improvement of the working conditions of working women. After all, the "weaker sex" accounts for 51 percent of all those employed in the national economy.

The deputies then embarked on the hearings on the candidacy of V.N. Kirichenko, nominated for the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics. The discussion proceeded more than peacefully. There were few questions for the candidate. And the point was perhaps that in his brief program statement V.N. Kirichenko succeeded in anticipating many of them. Soviet statistics have only begun to restore what they have lost and to overcome Stalin's deformations, expanding our ideas about ourselves, reflecting the population's real living standard, the prices index, and the dynamics of inflation processes.... These criteria should return to our life. Statistics must become an inalienable part of glasnost.

And then, as has already been said, discussion began on the candidacy of G.A. Yagodin. After he had set forth his program only 4 deputies—G.S. Stepanov, Sh.A. Amonashvili, V.A. Plyutinskiy, and A.I. Demidov—had time to speak before the end of the evening sitting.

With that the evening joint sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers ended. After it there was a sitting of the Soviet of Nationalities. In accordance with instructions from the Congress of USSR People's Deputies the chamber approved the composition of three commissions—on problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, on problems of the Crimean Tatar population, and on problems of Soviet Germans.

It was announced that commissions would also be created for other minority peoples.

Supreme Soviet Committee Work Profiled

LD1607141389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1030 GMT on 16 July broadcasts a 30-minute program entitled, "The Supreme Soviet at Work: In the Commissions and Committees." The program is presented by commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy.

Ruvinskiy begins the report by saying that the eight commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities and the 14 Supreme Soviet committees have been assembling during the days of the session. He notes that listeners know less about these bodies than about the joint sittings of the Supreme Soviet and says radio correspondents will try to inform them.

Correspondent Andrey Nikifirov talks to Eduardas Yonovich Vilkas, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission on Matters of the Social and Economic Development of the Union and Autonomous Republic and of the Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs.

Vilkas says that in three evening sittings his commission has tackled, in conjunction with the Committee on Economic Reform, the problems related with financial autonomy for Estonia and Lithuania. he does not elaborate. Vilkas says that he has visited the Institute for

Management and prognosis of Scientific and Technical Progress, a USSR Academy body. he says "There, talking to scientists, "I received most important information about the Tyumen projects. The institute has done an expert study on this subject; it transpires that the projects are very poorly developed and most risky. One thinks that, if the projects are really implemented, the country will get into major economic difficulties because the scale is one of several Baykonal Amur mainlines. In connection with this, there is a proposal that we should discuss that matter and, generally, adopt a law forbidding the initiation of major projects costing, say, more than R500 million without the knowledge of the Supreme Soviet and, consequently, without the corresponding deep analysis. For, in this case, the point is it will involve major hard currency resources. It means, in effect, to put the whole country on starvation rations."

Vilkas is asked about the ethnic flash points within the Soviet Union; Nikifirov says that in many areas there is no real reason for ethnic strife but that it has resulted from economic problems.

Vilkas agrees that this is an important sphere of activity for the commission he chairs. He says that each people must get the right conditions so that they can live and work as they wish; then there will be no cause for envy between people. He says, "When everyone is living on what he has earned himself and is, moreover, given a helping hand by his neighbor from time to time but not constantly, then he, too, will assist that neighbor. That means indeed that there are normal economic relations. There is nothing more strong or dependable than normal economic relations in the sense of uniting the people."

Viktor Grigoriyevich Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning and Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union, says that his commission is finding time short, compared with the volume of points for discussion. He notes the commission needs to work thoroughly on the budget and plan for 1990, which are to be debated at the next session. Kucherenko says his commission is drafting a bill on tax reform and is discussing reductions in investments. He says further that other commissions are looking for allocation of large sums of money to finance new programmes; this is at a time when the Planning and Budget Commission is seeking to reduce spending.

Kucherenko says that the commission has studied matters related to Lithuania assuming greater economic independence and notes Lithuania's plans will serve as a prototype in many respects.

Nikolay Dmitriyevich Pivovarov, chairman of the Committee for Matters Relating to the Work of Soviets of Deputies Development of Administration and Self-Administration, says that he is currently combining his work as committee chairman with his previous job of chairman of the Rostov Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. He notes he will be leaving the more minor post to concentrate on chairing the committee. He stresses that his committee will work to have more power exercised by local Soviets of People's Deputies.

Valentina Ivanovna Matviyenko, chairman of the Committee on protection of the Family, Motherhood and Childhood, says that various anomalies exist in this sphere. More women than men work night shifts, women often have to perform manual labor, which is harmful to their health. Matviyenko says that her committee is proposing a number of measures.

Ruvinskiy says that the Supreme Soviet has since passed one measure which Matviyenko and her committee had requested: a decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet has been made to send home for study any servicemen who are registered for full-time university courses.

Composition of Supreme Soviet Committees

PM1407114389

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 14 July carries in its Morning Edition on pages 2 through 7 under the headline "Committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Permanent Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet Nationalities" a list of the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and chamber commissions, giving the name of each committee's or commission's members followed by the electoral okrug or public organization from which they were elected as deputies, their occupation, and their place of residence.

The names of the commission and committee members are as follows: **USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Protection of the People's Health:**

Chairman: Yuriy Ivanovich Borodin;

Committee Members: Derenik Nshanovich Abramyan, Nikolay Mikhaylovich Amosov, Yuriy Nikitich Belenkov, Vladimir Kondratyevich Bulatov, Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Venediktov, Mazakhir Nushiravan ogly Gadzhiyev, Georgiy Petrovich Gidirim, Yaroslav Yakovlevich Gil, Viktoriya Vyacheslavovna Gnatyuk, Anna Kornilovna Grudinina, Valentina Grigoryevna Gudilina, Narzi Davranov, Menslu Duisenbayevna Dzhumatova, Lyudmila Tazretovna Zhigunova, Yusuf Bashirkhanovich Iskhaki, Galina Nikolayevna Kamenshchikova, Nikolay Ivanovich Karpenko, Sergey Ivanovich Kolesnikov, Aleksey Ivanovich Kondratyev, Georgiy Fedorovich Koromyslov, Uldis Volfgangovich Lautsis, Omar Aleksandrovich Memanishvili, Dagmara Sergeyevna Mironova, Mirsaid Mirkhamidovich Mirrakhimov, Nikolay Pavlovich Napalkov, Sergey Innokentyevich Nevolin, Yuozas Yuozovich Olekas, Rozygeldy Pirnazarov, Nadezhda Nikolayevna Pribylova, Boris Nikolayevich Rogatin, Anatoliy Andreyevich Rynka, Nazaket Shamil kyzy Sadygova, Vladimir Iosifovich Semukha, Zinaida Sergeyevna Temnogrudova, Mirbako

Fatullayev, Anatoliy Vasilyevich Firsov, Arvo Voldemarovich Khaug, Yuriy Stanislavovich Tsavro, Viktor Aleksandrovich Tsyurupa, Anatoliy Danilovich Shirokopoyas, Viktor Vladimirovich Yakushkin. **USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources:**

Committee Chairman: Kakimbek Salykov;

Committee Members: Yukhan Yokhannesovich Aare, Yashar Isag ogly Abbasov, Vaydotas Vito Antanaytis, Leonid Fedorovich Valentinov, Yuriy Ivanovich Voronezhtsev, Samvel Surenovich Galstyan, Eduard Sergeyevich Gams, Vladislav Andreyevich Gorokhov, Boris Vartanovich Dadamyan, Anatoliy Alekseyevich Denisov, Vladimir Mikhaylovich Desyatov, Sergey Pavlovich Zalygin, Ismanali Ismailovich Isakov, Khekim Ishanov, Lyubov Ivanovna Yorga (Leonida Lari), Aleksey Ivanovich Kazannik, Georgiy Alekseyevich Komarov, Vladimir Mikhaylovich Kotlyakov, Lev Aleksandrovich Kuznetsov, Rita Aleksandrovna Kukayn, Vladimir Aleksandrovich Leonchev, Valeriy Nikolayevich Maksimov, Parmen Ioramovich Margvelashvili, Svetlana Aleksandrovna Militenko, Vasiliy Vasilyevich Nikolayev, Prokopiy Dmitriyevich Osipov, Ella Aleksandrovna Pamfilova, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Penyagin, Makhmaruzi Pirov, Tadeush Karlovich Pupkevich, Valentin Grigoryevich Rasputin, Kabdulla Zakiryanovich Romazanov, Viktor Dmitriyevich Romanenko, Yevgeniy Sergeyevich Rychin, Viktor Petrovich Savinykh, Valeriy Ivanovich Samoplavskiy, Boris Fedorovich Satin, Galina Illarionovna Semenova, Mikhail Andreyevich Timchenko, Ernst Petrovich Tikhonenkov, Nina Andreyevna Usilina, Vitaliy Alekseyevich Chelyshev, Karzui Sarkisovna Cholokyan, Vladislav Aleksandrovich Shapovalenko, Mukhtar Shakhanov, Yuriy Nikolayevich Shcherbak, Aleksey Vladimirovich Yablokov, Vladislav Stanislavovich Yakutis, Aleksey Zakharovich Yastrebov.

USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee:

Committee Chairman: Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dzasokhov;

Committee Members: Nodari Sardionovich Amaglobeli, Sergey Aleksandrovich Ambartsumyan, Anatoliy Andreyevich Ananyev, Georgiy Arkadyevich Arbatov, Nail Bariyevich Bikkenin, Genrikh Avizzerovich Borovik, Rostislav Andreyevich Bratun, Fedor Mikhaylovich Burlatskiy, Mavrik Germanovich Vulfson, Vitaliy Iosifovich Goldanskiy, Vladimir Mikhaylovich Yetylen, Muminsho Kanoatov, Mikhail Stepanovich kapitsa, Vladimir Vasilyevich Karpov, Elmira Mikail kyzy Kafarova, Yen Un Kim, Nikolay Anatolyevich Kostishin, Vladimir Alekseyevich Kravets, Sigitas Yozovich Kudarauskas, Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev, Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov, Igor Mikhaylovich Luchenok, Petr Kirillovich Luchinskiy, Tiyt Raymondovich Made, Kirill Trofimovich Mazurov, Yevgeniy Demyanovich Maltsev, Vladimir Petrovich Maslin, Timofey Vasilyevich Moshnyaga, Aklim Kasimovich Mukhametzyanov, Nikolay Vasilyevich Neyland, Igor Aleksandrovich Nikanorov, Umtul Sheysheyevna Orozova, Roald Zinnurovich Sagdeyev, Gulrukhsor Safiyeva, Aleksey Ivanovich Sorokin, Fikryat Akhmedzhanovich Tabeyev, Valentina Vladimirovna Tereshkova, Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin, Algimantas Yurgis Yurgio Chekuolis, Sergey Vasilyevich Chervonopiskiy, Anatoliy Sergeyevich Chernyayev, Erkin Yusupovich Yusupov, Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev. **USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals:**

Committee Chairman: Vladimir Konstantinovich Foteyev;

Committee Members: Oleg Nikolayevich Alekseyev, Ivan Vasilyevich Aparin, Elmir Tatulovich Arutyunyan, Oleg Borisovich Batorov, Nikolay Petrovich Belous, Yuriy Aleksandrovich Bogomolov, Sara Mustafa Kyzy Vezirova, Aleksandr Isaakovich Gelman, Sergey Nikolayevich Danilov, Boris Fedorovich Derevyanko, Vagif Dzhafar ogly Dzhafarov, Anatoliy Stepanovich Yezhelev, Alla Aleksandrovna Zgerskaya (Yaroshinskaya), Nikolay Ivanovich Ignatovich, Dmitriy Mikhaylovich Iovlev, Yekaterina Vasilyevna Krivoruchko, Grigoriy Filippovich Lezhenko, Viktor Alekseyevich Mayboroda, Boris Nikolayevich Nikolskiy, Anatoliy Ivanovich Nyrkov, Anatoliy Konstantinovich Osipov, Vladimir Vasilyevich Osipov, Ivan Mitrofanovich Panov, Allakhshukyur Gummat ogly Pasha-Zade, Mikhail Nikiforovich Poltoranin, Aleksandr serafimovich Potapov, Vello Paulovich Pokhla, Pavel Pavlovich Pyankov, Nataliya Yuryevna Reshetova, Oleg Mikhaylovich Savostyuk, Bozorali Solikhovich Safarov, Mars Giniyatovich Safiullin, Viktoriya Moiseyevna Siradze, Yuliya Yuryevna Sokolova, Ion Dmitriyevich Khadyrke, Pavel Abramovich Khitron, Grigoriy Ivanovich Sharyy, Zita Leonovna Shlichite, Bakhromzhon Malhmudovich Ergashev. **USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection:**

Committee Chairman: Valentina Ivanovna Matviyenko;

Committee Members:

Tamara Musoyevna Akramova, Lyudmila Vladimirovna Afanasyeva, Patima Badalbayeva, Nino Usupovna Badzhelidze, Nadezhda Petrovna Borisyuk, Vyacheslav Aleksandrovich Borovkov, Lyudmila Stepanovna Byakova, Raisa Grigoryevna Voronina, Mavziga Gaffanovna Gabitova, Mariya Vasilyevna Gerzanich, Valentina Ivanovna Gordeyeva, Svetlana Vladimirovna Grudinina, Lyubov Nikolayevna Druzhinina, Tozhikhon Zhurabayeva, Vladimir Nikolayevich Zubkov, Vladimir Yakovlevich Kalashnikov, Mariya Iosifovna Karpenko,

Valentina Sergeyevna Klibik, Mikhail Valeryevich Klimov, Oleg Gennadyevich Klushin, Zoya Petrovna Krylova, Yurate Yono Kuplyauskene, Amangozel Kurbanova, Zinaida Kondratyevna Mateushuk, Melanya Andranikovna Mirzoyan, Adilya Anaz kyzy Namazova, Mariya Andreyevna Orlik, Emiliya Andreyevna Panchenko, Zinaida Semenovna Prikhodko, Zoya Pavlovna Pukhova, Bikhodzhal Fatkhitdinovna Rakhimova, Marina Nikolayevna Rakhmanova, Georgiy Sergeyevich Russu, Galina Nikolayevna Serdyukovskaya, Kaken Smailova, Zoya Pavlovna Smolina, Tatyana Andreyevna Starostina, Yekaterina Davydovna Stupina, Vyacheslav Stepanovich Turenko, Veniamin Aleksandrovich Yarin, Olga Pavlovna Yarovaya.

USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids:

Committee Chairman: Nikolay Vasilyevich Bosenko;

Committee Members: Ovezmukhamed Annamukhamedov, Dmitroy Grigoryevich Bachinskiy, Vladimir Ivanovich Vidiker, Aleko Rafayelovich Gogeshvili, Aleksandr Ivanovich Golyakov, Trofim Iosifovich Gorinov, Rasul Gulamov, Valentin Ivanovich Dikul, Petr Antonovich Druz, Gleb Grigoryevich Dygay, Ilya Iosifovich Zaslavskiy, Raisa Belekovna Ibraimova, Tukhtakhon Bazarovna Kirgizbayeva, Petr Martynovich Klishchuk, Ivan Frolovich Klochkov, Aleksandr Semenovich Kolodeznikov, Pavel Ivanovich Konkov, Marina Grigoryevna Kostenetskaya, Adul Guseynovich Kuliyev, Viktor Georgiyevich Kulikov, Ivan Stepanovich Lyzo, Anna Polikarpovna Maslakova, Eduardas Benyaminovich Mezhelaytis, Vadim Vladimirovich Menshikov, Mirsali Mirkadirov, Ona Antanovna Mitalene, Aleksandr Yakovlevich Neumyvakin, Aleksey Stepanovich Petrukovich, Bazor Rakhmanov, Aleksandr Petrovich Silantyev, Telman Sergeyevich Stepnadze, Aleksey Dmitriyevich Tyulyandin, Sero Nikolayevich Khanzadyan, Mutallim Abdumuminovich Khusanbayev, Midkhat Idiyatovich Shaydulin, Pavel Vadimovich Shetko, Anatoliy Stepanovich Shukshin. **USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Science, Public Education, Culture, and Upbringing:**

Committee Chairman: Yuriy Alekseyevich Ryzhov;

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Stella Borisovna Aguzarova, Valerian Sergeyevich Advadze, Vladimir Tuychiyevich Adylov, Nikolay Ivanovich Aliluyev, Ruslan Ardevanovich Arshba, Alikhan Rakhmatovich Atadzhanov, Khodzhamukhamed Atdayev, Sergey Vladimirovich Boykov, Rafik Petrosovich Vardanyan, Aleksandr Ivanovich Byucheyskiy, Vagan Mikhaylovich Gabriyelyan, Andrey Nikolayevich Girenko, Aleksandr Grigoryevich Gorbachev, Zulaykho Sokhibnazarovna Gulova, Vladimir Vasilyevich Gusev, Mikhail Vasilyevich Demidov, Aslan Aliyevich Dzharimov, Grigoriy Isidorovich Yeremey, Ivan Ignatyevich Zbykovskiy, Stepan Vladimirovich Ignatov, Geydar Isa ogly Isayev, Siym Udovich Kallas, Andrey Yakhyayevich Kangliyev, Vyacheslav Frantsevich Kebich, Valentina Adamovna Kiseleva, Ibraimzhan Kozhakhmetov, Vladimir Vladimirovich Kosygin, Viktor Mikhaylovich Krivenko, Gennadiy Stepanovich Lisichkin, Yanis Petrovich Lutsans, Gragat Tigranovich Mkrtumyan, Sabir Bakir ogly Muzafarov, Mukharam Timergaliyevich Mukhametzyanov, Sherkhonbek Navruzov, Amangeldi Orazbayev, Semen Yakovlevich Palchin, Vitold Pavlovich Fokin, Toktogul Bekbolotovich Chilebayev, Albert Mikhaylovich Shamikhin. **Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations:**

Commission Chairman: Georgiy Stanislavovich Tarazevich;

Commission Members: Emilbek Abakirov, Yeremey Danilovich Aypin, Semen Vasilyevich Angapov, Atakhodzhamengli Annamukhamedov, Vladislav Grigoryevich Ardzinba, Lyudmila Akopovna Arutyunyan, Yerkin Nurzhanovich Auyelbekov, Mirzo Bobodzhanov, Yuriy Rudolfovich Boyars, Andrey Georgieyvich Braun, Vanda Sergeyevna Venglovskaya, Oleg Vasilyevich Vostrukhov, Yevdokiya Aleksandrovna Gayer, Bronislavas Konstantinovich Genzyalis, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Genchev, Leonid Alksandrovich Gorshkov, Musa Yusupovich Darsigov, Nikolay Andreyevich Demakov, Ion Panteleyevich Drutse, Georgiy Dzambulatovich Ikayev, Aleksandr Semenovich Kapto, Sergey Borisovich Lavrov, Veli Guseyn ogly Mamedov, Suleyman Farkhad ogly Mamedov, Machavariani, Mukhran Ivanovich, Iskhak Shumafovich Mashbashev, Nikolay Nikolayevich Medvedev, Kurbanmamed Mollaniyazov, Mikhail Innokentyevich Mongo, Aleksandr Ivanovich Ovchinnikov, Rizoali Kadamshoyevich Odzhiyev, Genrikh Andreyevich Pogosyan, Yuriy Nikolayevich Prokopyev, Revaz Shalvovich Tabukashvili, Vladimir Kalimetovich Tlostanov, Boris Sergeyevich Ugarov, Klara Semenovna Khallik, Anatoliy Georgiyevich Chekhoyev, Gennadiy Ivanovich Shipitko, Leonid Borisovich Shkolnik, Adyl Yakubov.

Editorial Discusses Government Formation Process

PM1407154789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Minister's Program; It Reflects Our Future"]

[Text] What does the future hold for us? You probably would not be able to find anyone unconcerned by this question. To a large extent, we can get an answer to this question in the evenings by tuning in to the second channel of central television, which is broadcasting the sittings of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

This is the 3d week the Soviet parliament has been in session. The government is in the process of being formed. All this is taking place before our eyes. And the majority of readers (as shown by the mail and telephone calls that PRAVDA receives) are in favor of this democratic, open approach. But from time to time people are heard to say: "Are deputies not spending too much time talking? They often ask inessential questions and drag out the discussion." Or: "Where is this getting us? We have essentially had anarchy [bezvlastiye] in the country for quite some time—the ministries are not working and you cannot get trifling matters resolved."

Perhaps the process of forming the government has dragged on rather too long. But we feel that haste is not needed here. There can be no return to the old ways, when this question was decided unanimously in a matter of minutes. Restructuring has formed a new body of deputies and created an active, really capable, permanent parliament which is essentially geared to meeting the interests of the people. It is not a rubber-stamp parliament. The list of top leaders proposed by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers is not now automatically approved: Each candidate has to be heard personally, on a meticulous basis. For the first time, the people have been able to see who is who. For the first time, they have heard the ideas of the people who make up the government.

The hearing is based on the program of the candidate for high office. The future leader gives a detailed account of his perception of the problem of improving the work of the sector or department concerned. Deputies agree or disagree with this opponent. They approve the measures being taken or express doubts. They suggest how to do things better. They criticize, comprehensively assess, and then pass verdict as to whether the candidate should be appointed or not.

A minister's program.... His program is the future of the power engineering industry and machine building, agriculture and public health care, trade and television.... The future of every one of us. That is why it is considered in such a partial way. And that is also why the discussion has dragged on a little—the economy has been too neglected. A no-win situation.

A minister's program is the fruit of collective reason. It is based on the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It has been drawn up by a collegium and not just by one minister. It has already been heard and amended in the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet. But the Supreme Soviet session has the final say.

The majority of the programs have been presented. This week we have heard how V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, Ye. Chazov, USSR minister of health, K. Terekh, USSR minister of trade, and others are going to act now and in the future. The sectors for which the above comrades are responsible are possibly the most important. Well, how can we get by without the stores today? But perhaps we are better off not going to them. Not just because the shelves are empty but also because, as Deputy V. Shapovalenko pointed out during the discussion of the nomination, "the store assistants see customers as their enemies and do their utmost to get rid of them."

If there is any exaggeration here, it is not very great. It would be hard to find a sector that prompts as much criticism as trade. All the shortcomings of our economy seem to be mirrored here. The shortages leave a bitter taste in the mouth. Goods never reach the stores, disappearing in the hands of dishonest people. The principles of distribution are violated. There are lines and bad manners in the stores and sometimes just plain boorishness. And, the other side of the coin, difficult working conditions for those who stand behind the counter, poor wages, a shortage of housing, kindergartens....

So, how is the situation to be rectified? Ascending the high, imposing rostrum, K. Terekh talked about this. Incidentally, his program has been changed appreciably since the discussion in two commissions of the Supreme Soviet, which recommended the contender for the post of trade minister with the provison that he return in a year's time to discuss the situation in the sector.

A pointed, extremely frank discussion surrounded the nomination of Ye. Chazov as USSR minister of health. Not so much around the nomination itself as around the thoroughly ailing state of our public health care system. Academician Chazov offered his prescription for curing the ills of the sector. In his view, the very approach to public health care must be radically changed. First and foremost, the practice of financing on the basis of the principle of the number of clinic visits and the number of hospital beds—the greater the number of patients, the more funds allocated to republics, krays, and oblasts—must be abandoned. There must be well-founded financing normatives and, what is more, they must be differentiated—on the basis of the region and climatic conditions.

The candidate proposed a fundamentally new source of finance: State hospital insurance. He proposed changing the present criteria by which the work of medical personnel is assessed. They should not all receive the same or be given long-service bonuses; their wages should be dependent on qualitative indicators. In this respect the lease system and team contract should be more broadly introduced and the tradition of family doctors revived. Important aspects of the program are: Decentralization, broader rights for local health bodies, the development of preventive medicine, stronger sanitary inspection, the provision of hospitals and clinics with new medical equipment, and the solution of problems concerning medicines.

The programs of V. Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice, V. Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, received deputies' full support. PRAVDA plans to acquaint its readers with the contents of these programs.

The discussion of nominations for top state positions has shown how much cadres' responsibility and the demands made of them have increased today. We have seen for ourselves how difficult it is to take the rostrum. Not everyone has succeeded in getting through this "purgatory." V. Kamentsev was not approved for the post of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, nor was M. Busygin for the post of minister of the timber industry, or N. Konarev for the post of minister of railways. Even earlier, the commissions and committees did not recommend the following for USSR Supreme Soviet approval: M. Gramov—the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports; V. Zakharov—the USSR Ministry of Culture; G. Bogomyakov—the USSR Ministry of the Oil and Gas Industry; L. Rozenova—the USSR State Committee for Prices; V. Gribov—the USSR State Bank; and P. Polad-zade—the USSR Ministry of Water Resources Construction (Minvodstroy). It cannot be said that they do not possess the organizational abilities and professional qualities needed in a leader of this rank. However, new demands on candidates' vision of the future have sharply increased and not all the comrades have proved up to this.

The process of forming the government is nearing conclusion. During the discussion of the nominations, the principles and approaches of the future government to implementing the structural reorganization of economic management and implementing social policy have been really put to the test. This test has been sufficiently tough and principled. Now it is important to ensure that the published programs are not left hanging in the air and do not disappear without a trace in the sand. Deputies offered many proposals during the discussions. There are some very valuable ones among them. We must ensure that they are definitely put into practice.

The tasks which the new government has to resolve were determined by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Solving these tasks must ensure the steady, dynamic development of our country. We would like to see the government act with energy and make our future bright and more secure.

Parliamentary Sessions, Ethnic Relations Viewed

PM1107115389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Andrey Chernenko and Viktor Shirokov: "'16th Republic'; on National Relations and Parliamentary Debates"]

[Text] Sudden eruptions of interethnic clashes have recently been taking place in our country with a frightening and dangerous regularity. With the suddenness of scalding hot geysers they are exploding to the surface of our daily life, taking human lives, making children orphans and women widows, and leaving old men bereft.

We thought of all this in the press box at the Congress of People's Deputies, and we are thinking with anguish about all this today at the Supreme Soviet session...

Even we hardened journalists seemingly accustomed to everything have recently been picking up teletypes with some trepidation: How will they sadden us today? Never mind the reader who opens the pages of his newspaper in the morning as though they were wrapped around dynamite. Burned down houses, barbarity and looting, the killed and maimed, human deaths, deaths... What is happening, comrades?! The editorial office telephones have become literally heated from these angry questions, from just demands not only to introduce order but also finally to guarantee the protection of the honor, dignity, and lives of all citizens of the Union, regardless of nationality...

Indeed, what is this? When we began restructuring in April 1985 could we have allowed even the shadow of a thought that this would happen? No, no, of course not. But it did happen.

There is no denying that the law and order organs are mostly doing everything incumbent on them to extinguish the hotbeds of the fratricidal conflicts. The party organizations, having come to their senses after their initial confusion, are mobilizing public forces to defuse the tension and smooth the acuteness of the confrontations. Nonetheless, the feeling of sorrow, pain, and grief is not disappearing from the souls of most of us. And the main question will not go away: How did this become possible? What is the original reason for the murderous clashes?

The following answer is given among others: The leaders of organized crime and corrupt elements, fearing the exposure that is inevitable with the advance of restructuring, are deliberately introducing disturbance and provoking interethnic discord to divert from themselves the people's eruption of social anger. They are using for this the considerable funds accumulated through machinations in the "shadow economy," using criminals and immature young people with a weakness for drugs and drink and angered by their failure to fit into society. The ferocity of the raging crowd is being skillfully fed and heated with nationalist slogans and real and imagined national grievances.

Initially we were completely satisfied with this answer: They will expose these dark forces, drag them before the court of law, give them their just deserts, and we will have peace and quiet again, and God's grace. But time is passing and perplexity is emerging increasingly clearly: Why are the people who are increasingly persistently trying to drive wedges into the beams of our common home, who are sowing the poisonous seeds on the field of our fraternity—why are they succeeding in doing this? And is it all a case of extremists?

The past Congress of People's Deputies and the strenuous work of the first session of the Supreme Soviet will, we think, make a considerable contribution to the consideration of the initial reasons for these events and to the overthrow of seemingly a priori and unshakable dogmas inherent in our recent nationalities policy. The deputies representing the most diverse and sometimes opposite social forces agreed on one thing: At the beginning of restructuring its national facet was quite unpredictable. K. Khallik, a sociologist from Estonia: "When restructuring began neither its chief architects nor the broad public were ready for the possible emergence of national movements. Even now they still do not accept them as something right and proper." Ye. Kogan, leader of the Russian-speaking International Movement, also from Estonia, notes the imperious intervention of the nationalities question in restructuring processes...

Distortions of Lenin's nationalities policy have "overtaken us" and struck a painful blow precisely when we had embarked on rectifying these distortions. People's Deputy S. Arutyunyan found a broad and apt formula: "For decades we repeated the lofty truth of Lenin's nationalities policy—all peoples in our country are equal. And for decades we methodically cut the living roots of interethnic relations like ordinary grass." The writer Ch. Aytmatov put it even more figuratively, recalling the French saying: "The fathers ate sour grapes and their children's teeth are on edge..."

The list of blunders could bring to mind a martyrology of the unfulfilled hopes of the peoples inhabiting the country, an indictment of the designers and creators of state-bureaucratic socialism. And there is not a union or autonomous republic, oblast, or region, which could not extend that list. Remember how the Uzbek deputies at the congress groaned at the cotton monoculture, the Kazakhs groaned at the ecological disaster of the Aral Sea and the aggressive chemistry destroying man's genetic makeup. Just think: A mother's milk has become poison! It's some kind of apocalypse... Gigantic industrial monsters, those swollen "projects of the century"—these "cuckoo's eggs from the departments," as one

people's deputy aptly put it, have not only had a pernicious effect on the habitat of many peoples of our country, but have also brought to life the demons of national hatred and hostility and socioeconomic "overheating."

Stalin's "great resettlement of the peoples" executed with the ferocity of Genghis Khan proved to be the mine which, hidden for decades, has suddenly jerked to life right now when the nations and ethnic groups have received their first real opportunity to talk about a painful subject, when their most sacred hopes and aspirations dissolved in scarlet. Actually, if you recall the deeds of the ministers and departments after Stalin, they could also be presented with a register of explosive charges that are beginning to "explode" today. Take that migration carried out, it is true, in a peaceful and un-Stalinist manner but giving rise to no less explosive consequences. Filled with the desire for "achievements," obsessed with "the enormous bulk of plans," they developed industry in socially well-organized regions, pumping and attracting manpower there from already underprivileged Non-Chernozem villages. Continuing this policy with heedless haste and persistence from one decade to the next, they "organized" such demographic distortions in the Baltic republics, for instance, that an actual impasse has now developed there. The indigenous nations and ethnic groups are not to blame, but neither does any blame attach to the "migrants," as the Balts have already managed to christen them, having initially nearly directed their displeasure toward them. And inasmuch as the amorphous concept of "ministries and departments" also reliably conceals the specific culprits, it follows that no one can be made answerable. It is true that some people are already finding a target for their anger: "The culprit is... restructuring!"

An unexpected conclusion but, you will agree, one that has been encountered quite frequently recently. Moreover, it sometimes undergoes an unexpected transformation: Since the ministries and departments of union importance have been in Moscow some people are inclined to identify their colonialist policy with the state capital. In some respects they are probably right—sure hand of state bureaucracy operated from here but here it should not be forgotten that it was from Moscow that the life-giving impulse of restructuring also emerged.

Now that the hot action currents of restructuring have reached the outskirts of the country and have been multiplied thanks to the growth of national self awareness and the involvement of all national intellectual potential, some people already believe that they have no use for the center. Remember K. Khallik's words from the congress rostrum: "Incidentally, about a strong center: What is it; has a 16th republic appeared in our country? If it has, then it has been secretly, without the remaining 15 voting for it..."

We realize that the viewpoint of a people's deputy is undoubtedly independent and sovereign. Yet that still does not mean that it is the only one and indisputable. That is why we shall permit ourselves to disagree with it or at least to express our own view. The structure of management of any state is such that it presupposes the existence of a central political-economic, planning, and coordinating nexus without which the entire system is unviable. That the perception of this nexus in the time of restructuring should be different is another matter. Indeed we ourselves, together, must influence the restructuring of this center, but without losing patience or respect. This was exactly what M.S. Gorbachev said recently when he spoke on Central Television.

Actually, the dispute here is about something else. When the formula "a strong center means strong republics" was put forward, a counter version, "strong republics mean a strong center," immediately appeared. As the Ukrainian poet B. Oleynik noted on this subject: "After all, the roots feed the crown, not the other way round." And Deputy A. Gorbunov from Latvia added: "Because the republics created the Union..." It is clear that it is not a case of verbal acrobatics here—ultimately one or another version of the graphic aphorism does indeed presuppose at its basis a strong Soviet Union, a power of which all the republics which comprise it could be proud.

The republics see the danger elsewhere: They fear that the concept "a strong center means strong republics" may retain that same excessive overcentralization that has brought the country to its present state. That is why some deputies from the national republics insisted at the congress on the restoration of a Union treaty of equals. People's Deputy N. Nazarbayev suggested: "We must really expand the rights of all republics as equal sovereign members of a federative union as Lenin understood it. An effective mechanism should be elaborated for implementing the republics' powers... It is essential to guarantee the fitting representation of national republics in all federal organs, including legal, defense, and foreign policy organs." And Deputy A. Gorbunov insisted that today what is needed is "the resolute decentralization of the Union through the delimitation and redistribution of prerogatives in favor of the union republics and the formation of an effective legal mechanism for coordinating the interests of the USSR and the union republics."

It is notable that in many republics the question for this "mechanism" and its economic foundation has begun spontaneously and independently. "Brains trusts" in the regions began almost simultaneously to elaborate original concepts of economic accountability [khozraschet] and this pushed the central organs to seek an all-union economic accountability model too. There are substantial discrepancies between them and debates and heated duels are under way between planners, economists, and economic leaders as to whose version is the best, but that is a good thing, and the main thing is that economic thinking has awakened from its stagnant slumber. We must merely be soberly aware that miracles do not happen, that an extraordinary exertion of our human and production resources may be needed to accomplish a radical turn in our economy. Illusions here are pernicious...

Unfortunately, the seething ocean of restructuring has stirred up and brought to the surface forces whose ultimate goals are far removed from restructuring's soviet and socialist foundations. Extremist and nationalist groupings—yes, such do exist, having struggled into the shoes of fervent supporters of restructuring—have selected a different guideline for themselves: the disintegration of the Union of our republics. The emissaries of these "parties" and "movements" travel from region to region, taking an overtly nationalist baggage with them. Far from just one deputy and far from just one region told us with concern (and Valentin Rasputin mentioned this from the congress rostrum) that commercial travelers of this kind from groups that engage in politics mongering, duplicating and disseminating extremist "instructions" and "recommendations," have become frequent visitors to Georgia, Belorussia, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, and the Ukraine.

That is why there is an unremitting concern that this working over of some artless minds inevitably contains destructive ingredients, warped morality, and the deformation of social consciousness. And it will be doubly, triply, quadruply more difficult to resolve interethnic problems with such baggage...

"The rostrum of the first Congress of People's Deputies, which essentially should have been a congress of consolidating strength, sometimes was turned by some people into a rostrum for preaching national narrow-mindedness," we were told by G. Tarnavskiy, a deputy from Belorussia and the republic's prosecutor. "And I do not consider it necessary to conceal my concern. While respecting the right of every deputy to his position, I must express my perplexity at some of the speeches structured in such a way that the graphic, fine, phrases are spearheaded against the unity of the Soviet Union. After all, sometimes a word heard from a lofty rostrum is like a match in a cloud of gasoline. Yes, many of us are political unsophisticated. But lack of sophistication does not justify irresponsibility...

Unfortunately, the mainspring of interethnic intolerance is also occasionally in operation at the session, when instead of the question under discussion a number of deputies make the interethnic problem the focus of their speeches.... Most often in a purely emotional and unconstructive manner.

Experience suggests that nationalist propaganda in any form (including a pseudoscientific form) can be a "match in a cloud of gasoline." It does not pass without a trace, especially if it plays on nationalist feelings. We have already been convinced of this in the example of those discussions of recent years conducted in a number of regions on the pages of historical, ethnographic, and general political journals by humanities scholars arguing their own nation's "exclusiveness and primacy." An inflammatory word dropped in the heat of polemics may tomorrow result in the deaths of innocent people in whom immature and sometimes socially aggrieved "indigenous inhabitants" see "the image of the enemy...." Intellectual extremism, the preaching of "the priority of nations" and "ethnically pure territories"—is that not the Bickford fuse which ignites the outburst of savage passions, overt hooliganism, and banditry?

And I think that under these conditions the attack on the center has also not been conceived by accident—the erosion and undermining of its powerful role helps make the regions uncontrollable, local authorities irresolute, and the law enforcement organs reticent. Those who are driving a wedge between the republics and the center and between the republics themselves know what they are doing. The unpredictability of the future, anarchy, chaos, and interethnic and interregional clashes—that is the "stock" from which they prepare the soup to satisfy their strictly selfish or careerist interests.

Their attempts to identify all the sins of Stalinism with Russia, to place the "historical blame" on the Russian people, and to demand that they "repent" before the other nations are subordinated to the same aim. Having undermined the importance of the Russian nation as the natural magnet toward which the numerous nations and ethnic groups surrounding it have been drawn for centuries, they would like to include the separatist and centrifugal forces in order to split and destroy the Union of republics founded by V.I. Lenin. We do not think that Russia, to suit them, should renounce its historical function: It has too great a responsibility to the peoples of our states. Although one can understand V. Rasputin when he exclaimed in despair from the Congress rostrum: "...But perhaps Russia should secede from the Union if you are accusing it of all your misfortunes and if its underdevelopment and ineptness are burdening your progressive aspirations. Perhaps it is better thus. This, incidentally, would also help us resolve many problems both present and future. We would have some natural and human resources left and our arms would not have withered. Without fear of being nationalists we could then say the word 'Russian' and speak of national self awareness..."

Answering the Russian writers' opponents, the Kazakh N. Nazarbayev said from the congress rostrum: "...No one can say that Russia once pulled the blanket onto itself alone. I think Russia's prestige should also be raised." In reply to the isolationists, the Ukrainian B. Oleynik cited Oles Gonchar's words to the effect that in an interconnected and interdependent world the most terrible thing is national isolation....

Nonetheless, the supporters of "national isolation" are still to be found. Thus, we recently learned that the Latvian People's Front duma has decided to ask its supporters whether it is not time to steer toward seceding from the USSR. And this was done almost at the same time that the words of their compatriot A. Gorbunov were being heard from the Congress rostrum: "...You cannot resolve the nationalities question with referendums. This can be done only through a patient search for

mutually acceptable decisions. After all, not a single people will be happy if their happiness is built on the unhappiness of another people."

Today, when millions of people are living outside their own national-territorial formations, when the republics' economies are very closely and inextricably integrated into the economy of the enormous Union, thinking of "personal happiness" for one's own nation is not only selfish but also simply dangerous, because social cataclysms of monstrously destructive force can be the only consequences of "secession." As one deputy put it figuratively, a collapsed skyscraper can cover its neighbor's safe, well tended "little garden" in rubble....

Building a new model for a socialist federation of republics of the Union, creating a new system of economic mutual relations based on the intensification of integration and equivalent exchange which, incidentally, is also a world trend, strengthening the republics' sovereignty, self rule, and self financing, and the full responsibility of the regions' leadership to the population for supplying foods, goods, and services, developing national languages, cultures, and traditions—in brief, including the entire national potential in restructuring processes and mutual tolerance—is the only path that accords with the common sense of late 20th Century man. There is no other path today.

28 June Supreme Soviet Proceedings

18001306 Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Jun 89 pp 1-2

[TASS report on 28 June sitting of first USSR Supreme Soviet session, chaired by M.S. Gorbachev: "At the First Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet"; this item contains a passage that was published on pages 40-42 of the 30 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the headline "Abalkin Answers Questions on Economy 28 Jun"]

[Text] The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet chaired by USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman M.S. Gorbachev continued its proceedings on 28 June in the auditorium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The deputies embarked on discussing the candidacies of USSR Government members.

The motion was introduced to appoint L.A. Voronin first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Deputies G.M. Yermolayev, A.F. Veprev, D. Khudonazarov, M.A. Mikheyev, and N.I. Babchenko addressed questions and suggestions to L.A. Voronin.

The floor was given to L.A. Voronin to respond.

L.A. Voronin agreed that it was necessary to improve transportation services to rural workers and offered assurances that the government would additionally consider this important issue.

With regard to the material support for the current agricultural period of harvesting, he informed the deputies about an array of current measures carried out with a view to ensuring a high degree of preparedness by the farms for harvesting operations. By the harvesting season of 1990, said L.A. Voronin, necessary stocks of motor fuels and materials will be set up and the machinery will be prepared in a reliable manner.

To sharply formulated questions concerning the shortage of specialized machines on the farms, including soil-cultivating machines for vineyards, the answer was given to the effect that the government has determined the solution of this problem to be a priority. This was also the case with social needs of rural areas.

The issue of material supply to cover the funds allocated to Tajikistan for recovering from the consequences of the earthquake is being considered. These millions of rubles should be actually bolstered by everything that the affected region needs. The candidate first deputy head of the Soviet Government stressed that this issue is being monitored by the USSR Council of Ministers and will be completely resolved.

L.A. Voronin subsequently responded to questions associated with transportation services to the coal-producing enterprises of our country. He stressed that it is the direct responsibility of the government to create an efficiently functioning system of current management in the national economy under which the necessary cooperation between all sectors of the national economy will be achieved.

L.A. Voronin stated that he considers the organization of effective control of the execution of decisions made to be one of the priority tasks of the first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. In this reference, he dwelled in detail on ways to saturate the domestic market with consumer goods. The Soviet Government intends to embark on solving this most important social problem with great vigor. In particular, it is envisaged to increase the production of goods by almost R50 billion as soon as next year. This is a complicated task, but it can be carried out.

Extensive answers to all questions were given, which satisfied the deputies.

By a majority vote, L.A. Voronin was appointed first deputy chairman of of the USSR Council of Ministers.

M.S. Gorbachev announced that a group of deputies has proposed to simplify and speed up the procedure of confirmation of government members and to review only the candidates about whom doubts and controversy have arisen in commissions and committees.

The point is, observed the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, that every candidacy has been discussed in one, two, three, and on occasion four commissions.

Sometimes it has been more than that. However, we have 22 committees and commissions; some deputies have not taken part in discussing the candidacies. This is why they cannot be deprived of the opportunity to find out where this or that member of the government stands.

It was proposed to appoint Yu.D. Maslyukov first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee].

Deputies K. Makhkamov, A.F. Kasyanov, Ye.P. Velikhov, N.M. Amosov, N.N. Engner, L.I. Matyukhin, V.Ya. Medikov, D.O. Skulme, P. Badalbayeva, Ye.F. Bobyleva, and others addressed questions to the candidate member of the USSR Government.

M.S. Gorbachev addressed the deputies: I will now transfer the chair to Comrade Lukyanov, and, with your permission, proceed to my meeting with Comrade Honecker. He has come here to take part in the jubilee of the Magnitka [Iron and Steel Combine]. Comrade Honecker was among those who took part in building it; he will leave for Magnitogorsk today. After the meeting, I will return to the session.

Yu.D. Maslyukov responded to the questions of deputies.

He familiarized the deputies with his program of Gosplan operations. The speaker stressed that the Gosplan should be accessible to all deputies, all those who desire to promote restructuring vigorously.

Referring to the need to better take into account the peculiarities of regions in the process of distributing productive assets, Yu.D. Maslyukov admitted that the "squeaky wheel gets the oil" system for wringing out funds and benefits for the republics still exists. He believes that it is profoundly wrong. For example, the issue of ensuring the employment of the populace in Uzbekistan in the 13th 5-year plan is being worked on right now. In particular, it is planned to shift processing closer to the raw material base. The candidate member of the USSR Government came out in favor of examining such issues in detail at the regional level, developing specific programs, and continuous, target-oriented activities of the USSR Gosplan in this sphere.

He agreed that it is important and correct to raise the issue of the following incongruity: On the one hand, we imported a lot of wheat; on the other, it was fed to cattle. This problem definitely needs to be reviewed urgently.

In response to several deputies, Yu.D. Maslyukov communicated that July is the deadline for submitting documents for the 1990 plan to the USSR Council of Ministers. On 1 August the materials must be given to the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet for consideration.

N.I. Ryzhkov: I would like to provide information on the issue raised with reference to submitting the draft plan for 1990. Responding to this question, Yu.D. Maslyukov said that the Gosplan would provide the draft plan on 1 August. I would like to make a correction: Indeed 1 August has been set as the deadline for the Gosplan to submit the draft. The USSR Council of Ministers must consider it during the month of August and submit it to the USSR Supreme Soviet on 1 September.

Yu.D. Maslyukov continued to respond to the questions put by deputies. In conjunction with a reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces, some of the funds released in the process should be channeled to various sectors of the national economy, and some, as the deputies believe, should be allocated for the needs of the Army itself and the families of the servicemen. The person providing responses to the questions agreed with this point of view. He offered assurances that he is dealing with this problem because he believes that the current situation with the social support of the Armed Forces is unfavorable.

It is necessary to provide normal living conditions for all those retired from the Army. Central organs and republics, which must allocate housing to the people and take care of their job placement, including retraining, should take care of that. All of this will be taken into account in the course of conversion.

Referring to regional economic accountability for autonomous republics, Yu.D. Maslyukov stated that he is in favor of developing the principles of equivalence in the exchange between regions. This is a complicated issue; it is necessary first of all to establish procedures for the formation of budgets of autonomous republics.

Many questions were associated with differences in the level of social benefits in various regions of the country. It was stressed in the responses that the tax system is called upon to promote the accelerated socioeconomic development of, in particular, Siberia and the Far East. The development of such a system is in progress. The living conditions in these and a number of other regions call for approaches which are new in principle.

Much attention was paid in the responses to the institutions of higher learning. This system needs more support on the part of the government than before.

In response to several deputies, Yu.D. Maslyukov stated the idea that a powerful social policy should be expressed in specific approaches and numbers. This includes a system of indices which forms the social perception of what the life of a Soviet man should be. Such a system is being currently developed. Thanks to this system, the social policy of the state will be brought into line with changes in the standard of living, inflation, and the purchasing power of the ruble on an annual basis.

Dwelling on the topic of using foreign workers in the Soviet light industry in view of, say, the still excessive labor force in the Central Asian republics, the candidate came out in favor of giving preference to the citizens of our country in providing employment.

Many people were interested in who specifically should be held responsible for the destruction of many historic and cultural landmarks. The answer to this was: the USSR Supreme Soviet and the government, including the USSR Gosplan. A program was planned for solving this acute problem, which will be submitted to the deputies.

One of the questions touched on repaying the debt to rural areas. Doing this immediately is unrealistic, stated Yu.D. Maslyukov. However, a plan for as early as 1990 provides for transferring to rural areas almost one-third of the national income of our country. Incidentally, in developed states this share is considerably lower. Everything that has been earmarked for our rural areas should be given to them to the last penny. We have to acknowledge the fact of growing prices for machinery. However, in the process the issue of procurement prices needs to be resolved first.

The issue of the situation of rural schools and reinforcement of their technical facilities was raised in a sharp manner. It was stressed in the responses that closing down the so-called small-student-body schools in rural areas is a crime. This situation must be ameliorated immediately. In the next 5-year plan, meaningful measures for supplying rural schools with everything they need are envisaged.

The respondent called the issue of retirement benefits for veterans not only a social issue, but a matter of our conscience.

A large group of questions was devoted to the methods of designing 5-year plans. Particular attention in the responses was paid to the role of republics in this process. The connection between new planning approaches and the issues of regional economic accountability was emphasized.

The deputies took interest in the cadre composition of the USSR Gosplan, the opinion of Yu.D. Maslyukov on the development of an array of industries in Moscow, and the future of some facilities in the national economy. Extensive responses were given to these questions.

With reference to the issues of water distribution and water supply in the country, especially in Central Asia, the person answering the questions stressed that a special organ will be created at the State Commission for Foodstuffs and Procurement which will be involved in current water distribution. All water management facilities and organs will become its direct subordinates.

Is there an opportunity to speed up the development of norms of republic economic accountability? asked a deputy. Having responded positively to the question, Yu.D. Maslyukov stressed that literally days remain until it is to be resolved.

Yu.D. Maslyukov was asked to comment on the reason for the recent disappearance of the term "acceleration" from official documents. The answer was that in some sectors we were not successful in achieving acceleration. This happened due to objective causes. By this time, priority sectors with which our movement forward is associated have been designated. These are some subbranches of machinebuilding, the power industry, data processing, computer technology, chemical machinebuilding, and others—a total of 44. In these spheres, a genuine rather than verbal acceleration is necessary. I am in favor of the term "acceleration," but I am in favor of concentrating resources on the main directions which will provide the greatest possible economic effect soon.

Responding subsequently to numerous written inquiries by the deputies, Yu.D. Maslyukov, in particular, refuted rumors about the burial of radioactive wastes of the nuclear power plants of socialist countries in Transcarpathia, underscored the significance of the future fate of the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] and the need to develop a national medical system and to equip schools with computers as soon as possible, and came out in favor of improving the ecological situation in various areas of our country.

The participants of the meeting proceeded to discuss the candidacy of Yu.D. Maslyukov.

Deputy A. Akayev said he has not been satisfied with the program outlined by the candidate member of the government. The speaker stated his views on the issue of locating productive assets. In his opinion, this is an issue of extraordinary significance which is sometimes erroneously treated as a regional issue. Meanwhile, this is a problem of an all-state scope and it should be solved at a corresponding level.

In his presentation, Deputy I.M. Smorodin referred to the fate of Novgorod. He stressed that of the R400 million allocated for the restoration of the city up to 1995, only 9 percent is to go toward the restoration of local architectural landmarks. A mineral fertilizer plant has been built 5 kilometers away whose emissions have inflicted irreparable damage on the paintings, frescoes, and buildings. The speaker offered a variant alternative to the production of mineral fertilizer, whereby the extraction of sapropel would be organized in order to replenish the fertility of soils. This problem should be solved by skillful planning. As the deputy sees it, commonsense should be the foundation of our planned policy. He went on to say that we should look for a mechanism of reconciling the points of view of the "top" and the "bottom" within which the two sides could

conduct a dialogue on an equal footing. If this were to be carried out, the awakened energy of the masses could be channeled into putting the national economy in order rather than into meetings.

I saw fit to speak from this rostrum, said Deputy M.L. Bronshteyn, because previously I raised the issue of whether Comrade Maslyukov is fit for this position. I had weighty reasons for that. However, by now I have become convinced that a correct choice was made. Yuriy Dmitriyevich is not only capable of carrying out structural shifts, but mainly of carrying them out by economic methods, having created a corresponding mechanism. Certainly, an entire array of unclear questions exists which are associated in particular with republic economic accountability. However, I am certain that a solution will be found which will be in line with the interests of the republics and the entire union. This is why I am going to vote in favor of Yu.D. Maslyukov, whereas at the committee meeting I refrained from supporting the candidacy, the speaker stated in summation.

The problems of childhood may only be eliminated with the help of the planning system, said Deputy A.A. Likhanov. He requested that a special structure be set up within the Gosplan which would be able to resolve on a current basis issues associated with childhood.

The speaker stressed that there are segments of childhood which we still know little about; for example, handicapped children, who were still not going to get increased benefits. Recently, emphasized the deputy, the government has done a lot to support the Children's Fund. The state has given a billion rubles from its budget to the unfortunate and provided help with transportation. The day before, for example, the minister of defense allocated 100 trucks for orphanages and an aircraft which will be equipped as a hospital for extreme conditions. The speaker believes that aid to childhood should be reflected in Gosplan provisions rather than remaining just a kind feeling.

By a majority vote, Yu.D. Maslyukov was nominated first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan.

The deputies resolved to ask the candidate government members written questions only.

A proposal was submitted to appoint L.I. Abalkin deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

L.I. Abalkin was given the platform to answer deputies' written questions.

I would like to say a few words about my position, so that you know for whom and what you will be voting, he told the deputies.

Today we have in our economy a gap of R100 billion between state income and expenditure. But even now we are beginning to share out for other purposes the money we have decided to save by, for instance, cutting military expenditure and reducing the volume of capital investments in the production sphere. In my view, he went on, this money cannot be shared out. It must be written off to reduce the state budget deficit. If we do not do this, then after soap and washing powder, something else will disappear from the stores. We will constantly have waiting lines and coupons. Unless we eliminate the budget deficit and go over to new management methods, we will constantly be patching holes and never sewing ourselves a suit worthy of such a great country. I think that if you entrust me with government work I will pursue this line, realizing that this is the key to the resolution of our problems.

Second. We are asking the government to tackle all the questions in each specific sphere, in each village. We are pushing the government back—to the distribution of resources and the administrative edict system that everyone criticized.

We must be firm and consistent here. You must decide in what direction you want the government to act, in what direction you want me to act as the government member to whom it is proposed to entrust leadership of these questions of reform.

L.I. Abalkin then went on to answer the written questions. A number of them concerned measures to strengthen economic accountability responsibility in the grass-roots components of the labor collectives. He spoke in detail about economic measures and effective, well considered methods that could, in his opinion, hold back the colossal snowball of increasing monetary income.

Speaking about the leveling out of purchase and retail prices, the candidate member of the government doubted that it is possible in the remaining 18 months [of the 5-year plan] to do this, and entirely to abandon the use of budget funds for the purchase of agricultural produce. That will take longer than 18 months, but we must get there eventually. The speaker noted that together with the whole of our economic science, he does not deny his own responsibility for the difficulties that exist in the Soviet economy. It is a fact that the economy has lagged behind restructuring processes, he stressed.

A number of deputies inquired about the course of preparations for the republics' transition to economic accountability. A major discussion of these questions lies ahead, L.I. Abalkin said. Various approaches must be studied. As for my own view, I believe that the draft all-union law is an enormous, revolutionary step forward, although not everyone agrees with that. In accordance with the draft all-union law, the entire agro-industrial complex, light industry, trade and public catering, and municipal services go over to the full

control of the union republics. These are complex questions involving very broad rights. It is envisaged that the construction or expansion of enterprises on a republic's territory will not be able to take place without the consent of republican organs. All enterprises under local, republican, and union jurisdiction will make direct contributions to local budgets. A fundamentally new model of the formation of a republic's budget is emerging; we have never seen the like before.

This is an enormous step forward, it is our future. We must have a clear and precise program, realizing that this is only the first step, albeit a very large step.

Deputies drew attention to what is, in their opinion, a serious contradiction in this program: The management of consumer goods production is handed over, for the most part, to republics and regions, while the distribution of output via the state order is left with central organs. How can this contradiction be resolved, given the insufficient saturation of the commodity market?

I see no contradiction here, L.I. Abalkin said. It is true that historically, over the decades, a unionwide division of labor has grown up. Certain flows develop accordingly. For each republic, what it has to supply to the all-union stocks, and in what quantities, is specified. After that it is up to you, produce what you like. This is a version of the Leninist idea of taxation in kind.

Taking into account the unionwide division of labor, a reverse flow is envisaged, in the means of production, energy resources, machines, and equipment.

The next question is on socialist competition under present-day conditions, what form it should take, and whether it is necessary at all.

In the form in which it has become established, it was said in reply, socialist competition has acquired features of formalism and show, and it caused nothing but irritation and played no role in life. But competition as an economic phenomenon, as an element of the economic system of socialism; competition for the consumer, for the better satisfaction of his needs; competition for the better utilization of the property of the whole people, for its efficient utilization—this is a necessary component of our economic system. In this form, it is associated with the functioning of the socialist market.

Touching on problems of banking activity, the speaker stressed, answering questions, that in the majority of countries the central bank is not subordinate to the government, but to the highest legislative body. Although there are other options. In Britain, for instance, the state bank is subordinate to the government.

The main thing now, the speaker stressed, is to adopt a major law on banks and the banking system, which should define very clearly the autonomy and independence of the bank and its functions.

Some questions expressed the deputies' desire to learn L.I. Abalkin's attitude toward other economists' speeches at the congress and the session. The government program and the reform program, he said, is an open program willing to accept all that is best and of value, regardless of where a given idea comes from, from whom or from what country. Everything that is of value, sensible, and useful should be put in the common melting pot and incorporated in the acceleration mechanism.

Speaking about priorities in the agrarian sector, L.I. Abalkin expressed the opinion that formerly we allowed very substantial onesidedness to occur, whereby one economic reform was implemented in industry and construction, and another in the agro-industrial sector. The economy is a single whole. The principles of reform should be the same throughout the national economy.

The main thing for the agrarian sector now, he said, is not to increase appropriations for its development, but really to change economic relations and grant the freedom to choose forms of economic management, forms of ownership, and spheres of application of labor without any coercion in this matter and without any attempt to find one universal model for all regions and all conditions.

The main thing, the speaker stressed, is to convert economic autonomy into economic resources. This is particularly important for the countryside.

How do the reduction and elimination of the state budget deficit fit in at the level of Soviet people's lives? L.I. Abalkin stressed that the state budget deficit could be eliminated in two ways. First, by cutting expenditure; second, by increasing income. In the whole of its history mankind has not devised any other method. And we will only live better if we work better.

I think, he added, that given very persistent work and unity of approaches and actions by all organs of state leadership, we will be able to resolve the problems of forming a socialist market, and soon after, the convertibility of the ruble. In the meantime, we are not living any worse than we are working.

Deputies asked L.I. Abalkin to express his attitude to the position of certain ministries that have failed to exploit imported equipment worth hundreds of millions of foreign currency rubles. What measures are required to prevent a repetition of this?

This arouses enormous indignation, he said in reply. However, it is a manifestation of the general malaise of the economic management system. When I pay for things with someone else's money, my purchases will be left to rust.

In reply to a question on what the prospects for the republics' entry into the system of international division of labor were, the academician stressed that there are various aspects of this problem. The first concerns the entry of the Soviet Union itself into the international divison of labor, the adjustment of its place and role in the international division of labor, and the gradual abandonment of the country's role as a raw material supplier. From being a raw material supplier, it must be turned into a country that can participate in the international division of labor with high-technology processing industry output. There are problems in involving our enterprises, especially major associations, in the international division of labor. There are also problems in involving the republics in the international division of labor. On these questions we must follow the path of defining the fundamental principles.

A group of questions touched on the government's responsibility for the state of the economy. The present composition of the government, the speaker said in reply, is assuming its powers during a period that is exceptional in the history of the Soviet land. The atmosphere is extraordinary. In the last 18 months the economic situation in the country has deteriorated with every month. Therefore a mandate of confidence in the government also means giving it the right to carry out resolute and perhaps even emergency measures within the law.

It is very difficult to lead the normalization process. But society cannot wait long. The reserve of confidence is melting away; it is not endless. So 18 months to 2 years—that is the time in which the economy must be normalized. I think harmonious, joint work is needed here. I entirely agree with what N.I. Ryzhkov said yesterday: The law must make provision, on the one hand, for the Supreme Soviet's right to raise the question of a vote of confidence in the government. And on the other, it must grant the government the right to resign.

Can we, at the present time—on the verge of a food disaster—go on talking about the achievements and advantages of the collective farm [kolkhoz] system? Answering this question, the speaker agreed that certain gloomy chapters in our history are also associated with the kolkhoz movement. There are modern kolkhozes, he noted, that have absolutely no desire to disband. And they must not be broken up. If they want to remain, let them remain; if they do not want to, let them break up. In the academician's opinion, different, diverse forms of economic management and various versions of their development should coexist objectively.

The speaker also answered many other questions.

M.S. Gorbachev, who was in the chair, invited deputies to discuss L.I. Abalkin's candidacy.

Referring to issues of economic reform, Deputy K.P. Prunskene stressed that in the speech of a candidate for high government position the concept of the need for all republics to operate on common principles has been voiced. What if a contradiction develops between these common principles and the principles of the republics? It was stated today that the system of the agroindustrial complex, light industry, and some other sectors are being transferred to the republics. The question of whether the republics will cope was raised. Personally, said the deputy, I would like to ask: Has the center coped with managing the entire national economy? The speaker expressed confidence that the republics are up to the task set all the more so because she has not heard arguments prompting other conclusions.

Taking issue with the call by L.I. Abalkin to move on the same mainline in keeping with common rules, the speaker observed that to date the Soviet economy has been moving forward contrary to the laws of economics. Dwelling on this topic, she said that some republics are prepared to switch to more correct rules of the road. Some are going to do it right away, while others later. We are not laying claim to a monopoly, the speaker stressed, but we would like the varying degree of preparedness by regions to be taken into account. This is why the measure of independence which is possible for the Baltic republics is not always expedient for some other republics.

Deputy N.V. Fedorov stated his favorable attitude toward the candidacy of L.I. Abalkin as an independent and thinking person. However, he recalled that at the 19th Party Conference, criticism of the scientist—in his opinion, unjustifiable—had been voiced when it had been said that his position was prompted by economic determinism. The speaker also addressed the speech of the aspirant on that day in which the latter had said that the government, in order to be held accountable, should be given exceptional powers.

As the speaker said, this thesis had caused him to have some doubts. Our government is in a unique position to begin with. Under the Constitution, continued the speaker, the Council of Ministers is an executive and management organ, but not a legislative one. In practice, however, the Council of Ministers adopts acts of a legislative nature. Many problems have arisen due to this. The speaker believes that under these circumstances, it is inadmissible to ask for some other powers for the government. He stated that we should keep in mind this aspect of the world outlook of Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin. The deputy supported the candidacy submitted, at the same time calling on the audience to block the trend toward the reinforcement of authoritarian elements in his future activities in case of need.

Deputy Ts. Nimbuyev admitted that he is of two minds concerning L.I. Abalkin's concept. The statement by the academy member that our agrarian sector does not provide nourishment for the people was surprising. The proposal to disband farms operating at a loss, the deputy believes, is a continuation of the policy of eliminating unpromising villages. Why was it received with sensitivity? Many stockmen of the steppe region have yet to see the electric bulb of Ilyich, and they do not deserve to be treated thus. The speaker referred to the decision to give land to those who farm it as a flight from reality. The people are not exactly eager to take this land; they have been weaned from it. There should not be a campaign approach in this matter, observed the speaker.

Speaking about the so-called farm debt, the deputy voiced the opinion that this is an artificially created deficit of financing. For a long time the peasants have been giving all they can to the state in the form of taxes paid in kind without earning any funds for themselves. He concluded that the economic reform is a complicated matter and gave the advice of a peasant: Proceed with caution.

Deputy O.M. Savostyuk called the candidate under discussion a major scientist-economist who could help the country in its time of hardship. He went on to say that recently an abrupt commercialization of art has been taking place. Not only have detergents and soap been disappearing, but also works of art and architectural landmarks. Commercial style will hardly help in plugging the financial hole in question.

The speaker conveyed the proposal of creative arts unions. They have an opportunity to set up the financial structure of mutual relations inside the unions with access abroad, as they say, to hard currency, and to provide conditions for the existence of our artists. However, all the time they have been running into barriers created by the ministries, the imperfection of the old laws, and the imprecision of the new ones. The speaker made an appeal for the problem to be solved and for new life to be breathed into the creative potential of our country.

In the opinion of Deputy N.I. Travkin, the candidacy of L.I. Abalkin is the most successful in the entire composition of the government because for the first time a major scientist has been entrusted with the management of economic reform. To be sure, said the deputy, this scientist has one "shortcoming"—he is very honest and is capable of defending his point of view in any forum, before any audience. There has not been a single innovation in the economy of the country in the last 4 years in which his scientific developments have not been used. Speaking in favor of naming the aspirant to the post of deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the deputy stressed that restructuring needs such people in the government.

Supporting the candidacy of the aspirant, Deputy V.S. Advadze stressed that he does so in the hope that the scientist will change his stand on republic economic accountability. The speaker expanded on his idea, saying that L.I. Abalkin is a consistent proponent of radical economic reform when ministries and enterprises are at issue, but a proponent of cosmetic measures when territories are at issue. In the opinion of the deputy, the general principles of republic economic accountability published in March are these very cosmetic measures rather than the foundation on which the republics could be given complete economic sovereignty and a genuine economic reform could be ensured.

The speaker also thinks that relations between the central echelon and the union republics are in need of radical change. Who should decide which industries and enterprises are to go to the union republics—the center or the republics themselves? What we need is not a dictate from "on high." If we do not change our thinking, we will not have unity. It is hard to expect that we can go to the plenum on interethnic relations with this kind of luggage, the deputy stressed.

I will gladly give my vote to Abalkin, said Deputy A.M. Kanarovskaya, and I would also include in the government Shmelev and other economists. They have felt with their soul all the pain of our economic deviations. Finally they have openly called our economy immoral. At the same time the deputy recommended that the scientists study closely the heritage of the outstanding Russian economist N.D. Kondratyev, whose name is forever inscribed in the annals of world economic thought. As early as the 1920's he argued that the system of measures of agricultural policy would only achieve its goals if it strove to awaken the economic initiative and self-dependence of the populace to the greatest degree possible. In the opinion of the speaker, the study of Kondratyev's works may be useful at present as well.

The speaker went on to refer to the difficulties of individual housing construction in rural areas and called for the allocation of funds for this important endeavor to be scientifically justified.

The debate came to a close. The USSR Supreme Council appointed L.I. Abalkin deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

It was proposed that I.S. Belousov be named deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

I.S. Belousov took the floor.

Outlining his program, he said that we need to make more complete use of the unique situation which is associated with the new defense doctrine and an abrupt reduction in the production of military equipment and armaments. This is a consequence of the new political thinking.

Taking into account the considerable reduction in funding for armaments and military equipment, we should ensure the highest standard of equipment which we are going to develop for our Armed Forces.

I believe it necessary, continued I.S. Belousov, to fully ensure the quantitative level of deliveries of equipment and armaments which will be confirmed for the defense complex. At present, we should particularly emphasize the transfer of scientific-technical accomplishments of defense industries to all other sectors of the national economy. The economic effect secured due to this may be tremendous. I believe the actual implementation of the principles and decisions on the partial conversion of military production to be the paramount task.

In resolving the issues associated with conversion, the speaker said, we should, on the basis of a well-conceived and comprehensive discussion, prevent mistakes in determining the assortment of materiel, utilize the capacity released in the interest of the national economy to the fullest extent, prevent any tension on social issues at enterprises where a partial conversion of military production is to occur, and provide for solving many painful problems of the national economy based on the accomplishments of the defense complex and taking conversion into account.

The candidate government member believes it necessary to emphasize particularly the production of equipment for the agroindustrial complex, keeping in mind the already obvious fact that one-third of output generated in our agriculture is irretrievably lost due to the absence of processing facilities.

Despite the defense complex having its peculiarities, the new economic reform, new economic devices should be introduced in this sphere as well. Subsequently the speaker dwelled in detail on the ways of resolving social issues in the branches and at the enterprises of the complex.

In response to questions, I.S. Belousov came out in favor of reinforcing businesslike contacts and communication with those who operate defense technology.

He went on to say that the current approach toward allocating funds for defense is exceptionally rigorous, and even severe. We should work in close contact with the Ministry of Defense and take more care to ensure the quality of military equipment in order to use these funds with maximum efficiency.

M.S. Gorbachev: This issue was raised in the Defense Council. Scientific and research facilities operating under the military-industrial complex should pay more attention to fundamental research and forward-looking developments. The producers should seek orders and be responsible for the quality of products.

Responding to questions, I.P. Belousov stated his support for using some of the funds in the course of reducing defense expenditures for solving the social problems of the families of servicemen.

Some deputies were concerned with the outflow of skilled cadres from the defense industries registered in the environment of conversion. I.S. Belousov stated that a special program is being worked out to resolve this issue.

There are problems with the use of some defense complex products in the domestic market as well. In this reference it was stressed that compliance with the demands of consumers should be better. The resolution of the issues of personal computers for schools and computerization of schools was a case in point. Such work has begun, but the "defense people" themselves are not satisfied with its progress. Before the end of this 5-year plan, 500,000 personal computers for schools should be produced. As far as other sectors are concerned, it needs to be determined who produced exactly which kind of machinery. Then we will be able to find positive solutions.

Several questions involved preferences which production personnel have in defense industries and whether this will interfere with expanding the manufacture of civilian products. In his response I.S. Belousov again referred to the program of social measures which take into account the peculiarities of work under the new conditions.

Subsequently answers were given to questions about the kinds of new machines already being produced by the defense industry for agriculture, the ways in which these industries are able to help the development of medical technology, and the average cost of civilian production at defense enterprises. Exhaustive explanations regarding all of these questions were provided.

The deputies did not fail to address the recent accident involving a Soviet fighter in France. Having attributed it to a foreign object being caught in the aircraft engine, I.S. Belousov admitted that this by no means relieves our design organizations of responsibility. He said that ways should be sought for increasing the reliability of machinery.

The discussion of the candidacy of I.S. Belousov began.

Deputy Yu.A. Koltsov, who has accumulated more than 20 years of experience working for the defense industry sphere, expressed his dissatisfaction with the answer given by I.S. Belousov to one of the questions put to him. In his opinion, our military-industrial complex operates somewhat outside the control of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Having referred to cases from the practice of the U.S. Congress, which may refuse to fund, say, another fighter, while requesting that the issue be given additional work, he pointed out that in our country there have been no such precedents. Our materiel is developed

on the basis of resolutions by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. In the process, the developers and the customers do not at all fear that some concept will be turned down. This system must be changed. We should get away from the closed structure of the military-industrial complex. The deputies, said the speaker, should control the process of allocation and disbursement of funds for developing new military materiel.

Deputy V.S. Podziruk dwelled on the mechanism of cost escalation in our Armed Forces. As he sees it, the military-industrial complex has the same status as the former Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources]. This is how it turns out: They order the equipment from themselves and then supply it to the Armed Forces. In turn, those who use it have no right to object. There is no feedback. As the deputy believes, this is associated with the fact that the "bottom" in the Ministry of Defense cannot state its opinion to the "top." Therefore, one side is interested in producing more, and the other in receiving more. Efficiency in the process is zero. The speaker voiced his wish that a more flexible form of mutual relations between the interested parties be created.

Deputy B.Kh. Blayev observed that the military-industrial complex has assumed great responsibilities in producing consumer goods. However, it is alarming that the production of construction materials is not among the main sectors it is supposed to handle. After all, in terms of its significance, this issue is among such issues as the supply of foodstuffs and consumer goods to the populace. However, nobody is willing to handle it. The equipment for producing construction materials has not been improved for years and at the moment we are forced to buy imported equipment, the lack of hard currency in the country notwithstanding. The deputy stated the opinion that the defense industry should join the production of technological lines for the production of bricks, cellular concrete, and other materials.

On behalf of shipbuilders, Deputy V.I. Lisitskiy called I.S. Belousov a powerful organizer of production and a major engineer. The country needs such a man in the environment of conversion. However, stressed the speaker, I was troubled by the speeches of my colleague-deputies concerning the uncontrolled spending of money by the military-industrial complex. This is an incorrect statement, declared the speaker, and demonstrated this using his plant as an example. Recently procedures for disbursing outlays became noticeably more stringent. There should definitely be glasnost in this matter.

The chairman of the Committee for Defense and State Security, Deputy V.L. Lapygin, expressed the opinion of the committee members to confirm I.S. Belousov in the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Further the deputy dwelled on the issues associated with the operation of the committee.

The debate came to an end. The USSR Supreme Soviet appointed I.S. Belousov deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The joint session of the chambers was declared closed.

The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will continue its proceedings on 29 June.

Information Report on Azerbaijan CP CC Plenum
PM1407131989 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 24 Jun 89 p 1

["Information Report on Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"—BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY headline]

[Text] An Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee plenum took place on 23 June 1989.

The plenum discussed tasks to implement the party's modern agrarian policy.

A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the report.

The following spoke during the debate on the report: G.I. Isayev, first secretary of the Nakhichevan party oblast committee; O.A. Omarov, chairman of the Sabir Collective Farm [kolkhoz] in Zakatalskiy Rayon; A.M. Alyyev, first secretary of the Agdzhabedinskiy party rayon committee [raykom]; K.P. Pashayev, director of the "Kuba" agricultural firm in Kubinskiy Rayon; M.I. Abdullayev, first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Agroindustrial Committee [Gosagroprom]; M.N. Asadov, first secretary of the Agdashskiy party raykom; T.M. Abbasov, leader of the "Nyuzgar" agricultural cooperative in Dzhebrailskiy Rayon; N.V. Nikitin, chairman of the Kalinin Kolkhoz in Ismaillinskiy Rayon; A.K. Suleymanov, first secretary of the Neftechalinskiy party raykom; A.P. Abbasov, lessee at the Natavan State Farm [Sovkhoz] in Agdamskiy Rayon; G.A. Kasumov, director of the republic Gosagroprom Scientific Research Institute of the Economics and and Organization of Agriculture; V.M. Seidov, first secretary of the Sabirabadskiy party raykom; T.M. Mamedov, chief of the "Kirovneft" Petroleum and Gas Extracting Administration; S.G. Gadzhiyev, the republic's minister of land reclamation and water resources; and R.V. Mirzoyev, first secretary of the Shaumyanovskiy (rural) party raykom.

Comrade A.Kh. Vezirov delivered the closing speech.

In connection with the question under discussion, a resolution was adopted on implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) plenum.

The plenum examined an organizational question.

In connection with his retirement on pension, S.B. Tatliyev was released from his duties as member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

E.M. Kafarova, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, was elected member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau by a closed (secret) ballot.

D.S. Afanasyev, instructor in the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, and P.I. Agilin, consultant with the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, took part in the plenum's work.

Central Committee Member Lev Tolkunov Dies

LD1407165389 Moscow TASS in English 1652 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 14 TASS—The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet have reported with deep sorrow that Lev Tolkunov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and pensioner, died, and expressed condolences to the next-of-kin of the deceased. He was 70.

In the 50s-60s Tolkunov held several senior posts in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, in October 1965 he was appointed editor-in-chief of the IZVESTIYA newspaper. In 1976-1983 he served as chairman of the NOVOSTI Press Agency board and then the editor-in-chief of IZVESTIYA once again. His most recent job had been chairman of the Soviet of the Union of USSR Supreme Soviet in 1984- 1988.

Chebrikov Visits Lipetsk Engineering Plant

LD0707224889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov [secretary of the CPSU Central Committee] is continuing his stay in Lipetsk.

[Correspondent L. Maksimov, identified by caption] Today, Viktor Mikhaylovich had a meeting with staff of the oblast's law enforcement bodies and visited a number of industrial enterprises in Lipetsk. This is the machine-tool building works. Here the CPSU Central Committee was interested to find out how the industry is being refitted with high-productivity equipment. [passage omitted]

Comrade Chebrikov was shown this machine-tool stand. Normally, these are cast in pig iron, but this one is made of granite dust and a special resin. It does not react to temperature fluctuations which affect the precision with which the component is machined. And precision is one of the major quality indicators. An interesting question was asked: are foreign companies keen to accept us as partners? The reply was a detailed one, and I will quote only the following sentence: If we don't become partners, then we will soon become their competitors. At the same time as new technology is being created there is a terrific numebr of already obsolete machine-tools which we still have nothing to replace by. As everywhere (?too little) is set aside from profits, including hard currency profits, and this was also discussed with the Central committee secretary. Viktor Mikhaylovich Chebrikov answered numerous questions from workers on all aspects of our life. [video shows Chebrikov touring the machine-tool works, examining the new machine-tool stand and talking to workers]

Biryukova Interviewed at Moscow Film Festival

LD0707230589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Interview with A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by correspondent M. Nikulin at the 16th International Film Festival in Moscow on 7 July; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpts] The 16th International Film Festival opened in Moscow a few hours ago. [passage omitted]

[A.P. Biryukova, identified by screen caption] What I am expecting from this film festival is, above all, some very interesting pictures that we could acquire, and to get to know new...and to see well-known names of directors and actors presenting their work here.

[Nikulin] Do you yourself like the cinema?

[Biryukova] Very much.

[Nikulin] Are you hoping to see a lot here at the festival?

[Biryukova] I am trying, at least, to make maximum use of my time to see the films presented at this festival. [passage omitted]

Shcherbitskiy Speaks on Komsomol's Tasks

PM1707091589 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 25 Jun 89 pp 2-3

[RATAU report: "Harnessing the Energy of the Komsomol and the Republic's Young People to the Concrete Causes of Perestroyka"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] A meeting of members and candidate members of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, the Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] aktiv, and representatives of young people from Kiev City and Oblast held at the Kiev branch of the Central V.I. Lenin Museum on 23 June was devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Ukrainian Komsomol. [passage omitted]

The meeting participants were addressed by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Currently, in the conditions of democratization and glasnost, when the party is casting off dogmatism and the ideological stereotypes of the past, good preconditions are being created for the elaboration of firm philosophical positions among the rising generation. Both the youth aktiv and veterans must encourage young people's growing interest in everything that is happening in the country, in its history, and in the theory and practice of perestroyka. At the same time, it is necessary to learn to conduct a dialogue and to master living forms of contact with young people. Young people, in turn, respond gratefully to trust, honesty, and total openness.

Unfortunately, a substantial section of Komsomol cadres and the aktiv are not yet ready for work with young people on the basis of polemical debates. I agree with the views expressed here today about the need to radically revise the system for the selection and training of everyone involved in educating the young generation.

In preparing for debate and polemics, we must not forget why they are conducted and what purpose they serve—a quest for specific ways to resolve existing problems, or the inflaming of passions and emotions. This, in our view, is exactly where the watershed lies between those who truly support perestroyka and those who use perestroyka slogans as a screen for their political ambitions.

Let us be frank: At present, having reached a sharp turning point in our history, it is not easy for young people to understand the processes which are taking place, to find their bearings in the deluge of contradictory views, and to distinguish between truly revolutionary opinions and strident demagogical phrases. This complexity is manifested, for instance, in attitudes to the unsponsored associations which have become quite widespread of late. Our viewpoint is that many of them perform a socially useful role. Practice has proven more than once that dialogue based on mutual trust and constructive cooperation between Komsomol organizations and unsponsored formations benefit the situation and the moral and political atmosphere.

However, the process of the accelerated politicization of certain unsponsored associations also has another side. Many of you have obviously encountered ideological muddleheadedness and political immaturity. Of course, there is little that is good in this. But, nonetheless, it is necessary to work with these groupings constantly and patiently, to persuade their healthy sections and win them over to our side.

While respecting pluralism of opinions, it is at the same time necessary to instill in young people a political immunity to ideas and views which are alien to us. After all, it is no secret that, apart from people who unwittingly make the wrong choice, there are forces in our society which are trying to exploit the increased social activeness of the people, and above all young people, for purposes which are very remote from the tasks of perestroyka. Notions which have nothing in common with the socialist way of life are stubbornly being foisted on young people.

In this matter our position must be precise and unequivocal: No political complacency, no concessions in respect of ideologically alien positions can be tolerated. We are confident that the republic Komsomol Central Committee, Komsomol organizations, and the aktiv will defend this position.

One of the characteristic features of our time, V.V. Shcherbitskiy further stated, is the focus on problems in interethnic relations. Perestroyka has triggered a growth of people's national self-awareness and an interest in their historical roots and problems of culture and language. This is a positive and logical process. However, national self-respect must not grow into a feeling of national exclusiveness and egoism because this is fraught with interethnic strife. Unfortunately, this has already occurred in a number of republics and led to serious consequences. Even in our republic, in certain regions manifestations of nationalism sometimes assume an overtly aggressive, anti-Soviet character, which can only damage the cause of perestroyka.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, taking account of the prevailing situation, is taking steps to ensure a favorable moral and political climate and to enhance the efficiency of all work. At the present stage we regard it as our paramount duty to ensure above all proper order, discipline, organization, and strict observance of socialist legality everywhere.

It is perfectly obvious that international education, which has always been an important component part of Komsomol work, assumes paramount importance today. Patriotism and internationalism are, figuratively speaking, the wings of our spirituality. Komsomol organizations should ponder how the weighty educational potential of labor and Great Patriotic War veterans and internationalist servicemen could be more fully exploited. [passage omitted]

Many of our problems in work with young people stem from our inability to correctly organize young people's leisure. For some reason, to many people leisure means only trivial or mindless distractions. Naturally, leisure cannot be reduced to the organization of discos, rock festivals, and beauty contests. There has to be a sense of proportion. After all, it is possible to spiritually impoverish young people, to narrow their horizons, and this promotes qualities which are far from good. Especially in view of the fact that lately light entertainment, television, and radio have been truly swamped with dubious

examples of so-called mass culture. Under these conditions, a considerable section of young people never focus on the true achievements of world culture or physical culture and sport. [passage omitted]

The Komsomol press is called upon not to drive young people apart and separate them into different strata, not to erode their political and moral guidelines, but on the contrary to consolidate and rally all healthy forces of our young generation on the firm platform of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and loyalty to the party's cause. This is the main thing that I would like to wish the editorial offices and the authors of publications for young people.

I cannot omit to cite the document adopted 70 years ago at the First Congress of the Ukrainian Komsomol, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said. It is the resolution "On the Attitude Toward the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)." It says: "The Communist League of Working Youth of the Ukraine, while being an independent organization, shares the program and tactics of the Ukrainian Communist Party and operates under the general political leadership of the Communist Party. At the local level contact with the party is assured via mutual representation." I believe that these fundamental provisions have lost none of their topicality at present, when mutual relations between the party and the Komsomol assume particularly great significance.

All the world's political parties are concerned for their future. And Communists especially, members of a truly innovative party, the CPSU, which has initiated the revolutionary process of our perestroyka in the country, cannot but think about and be concerned for the party's future. We will contribute in every way to the rebirth and renewal of all the life and work of the Komsomol—our young people's political organization—on the basis of Leninist principles. We favor complete confidence in the Komsomol, we favor providing it with broader scope for the development of its initiative and creativity.

Latvian 'Citizens Committees' Criticized

LD1407172289 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 14 Jul 89

[By LATINFORM-TASS correspondent Bruno Smiltens: "Latvia: Citizens' Committees—Headway or Sidetrack?"—TASS headline]

[Text] Riga July 14 TASS— Many residents of Riga, capital of the Soviet Baltic republic of Latvia, found in their morning mail printed invitations to go and register as citizens or candidate citizens of Latvia. The strange appeal was signed by representatives of the provisional liaison centre of citizens' committees.

They proposed to recognize as Latvian citizens only those who had such status prior to June 17, 1940 (the date when Soviet troops were brought in under an agreement with Latvia's bourgeois government), and their direct descendants, including those residing outside the republic. In so doing, people who initiated the establishment of such committees, including members of unofficial organizations such as "Helsinki-'86", the club of environmental protection and the movement for Latvia's national independence, unequivocally declared that they had no intention to take into account the realities of the past fifty years. One of these realities is that over the period under consideration, the population of Latvia increased by nearly a million people due to migration within the whole country.

Their idea, which is now viewed by many as running counter to the declaration of human rights and the Helsinki and Vienna accords, is based on a rejection of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 23, 1939 as an illegitimate one.

The new movement's activists want everybody to take it on trust that their sole purpose is a public opinion survey. However, this version is hard to believe as plans have become known to hold a congress of deputies from local and regional citizens' committees at which, according to activists, "the will of Latvia's citizens will be expressed and decision made by what means this will should be done". Looking ahead, it is possible to anticipate that the congress's main aim will be to allege that the republic was occupied by the Soviet Union in June 1940 and to proclaim itself, on this ground, the sole body entitled to decide the question of Latvia's form of state.

Does legislation in force permit the establishment of citizens' committees? In replying to this question, Aivar Krumins, head of the law department of the presidium of Latvia's Supreme Soviet, noted that there is no law forbidding the activity of any public organization. However, the matters concerning citizenship are the sole jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic. In this way, no document issued by a citizens's committee may have legal authority. The projected congress, Aivar Krumins said, intends to arrogate to itself the prerogative of the bodies of state authority and thus is at variance with the Constitution and other laws of the Latvian Republic.

Many of the republic's jurists and party leaders share the opinion that citizen's committees are mouthpieces of persons seeking to establish diarchy. As unconstitutional was the movement described in a speech of Anatoliy Gorbunov, president of the Latvian Supreme Soviet.

Brazauskas Speaks at Lithuanian Party Plenum

LD1407175589 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 14 Jul 89

[By ELTA-TASS correspondent Saljamonas Vajntraubas]

[Text] Vilnius July 14 TASS— The processes under way in the social life of Lithuania could not but affect the Communist Party of the republic. The party's renewal was central to the plenary meeting of the Lithuanian

Communist Party Central Committee late in June, which announced a party discussion. It was decided to convene a congress of the party this year.

Speakers at the plenum said, in part, that in intensifying their activity, some large party organisations formed working groups to consider the future of the Lithuanian Communist Party and launched proposals for working out the party's new rules and programme.

The party's authority was shaken, as is believed here, because of the population's dissatisfaction with falling living standards, failure to put goods on the shelves, and mistrust in managers of different ranks. These conditions ensued the polarisation of society, which is expressed in civic actions. Activeness at rallies and sometimes ultimatum demands.

"We need such a party and its policy, which would not play on people's emotions but will, by its realistic approach, lead them to the set goal", Algidas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, said at the plenum. "Without such a party it is difficult to dismantle the system of bureaucratic centralism, which penetrated into all areas of social life, and assure continuous movement forward. This sensible understanding of the party's role in our society has been taking the upper hand lately".

At the plenum particular attention was called to moral categories. In the opinion of Academician Raimundas Rajackas, secretary of the Social Sciences Department of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, the party's authority became weakened also because some of its governing bodies lost contact with the people. He called upon party leaders to come closer to the people, not to be afraid to take a walk along the streets, look in at a shop, and debate with people.

During the party discussion which was launched on newspaper pages demands are voiced that command methods of management be decisively shed and a transition be made to methods of respect.

"Our key concern today is the future of Lithuania and the wellbeing of its people. In pursuing this path, we are working toward consolidation with all movements backing up political and social restructuring, toward a constructive dialogue and joining efforts, excluding confrontation", the first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee said.

MVD Gives Crime Figures for Jan-Jul 1989

PM1407110589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by A. Illesh: "USSR Internal Affairs Ministry: Analysis of Crime for First 6 Months"]

[Text] A briefing was held 11 July at which USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Lieutenant General V. Bakatin and a number of leaders of militia directorates and subdivisions spoke to journalists. This meeting discussed the state of crime in the country recently.

To judge by the abundant mail, IZVESTIYA's regular readers have noted the publications from similar briefings which, thanks to the work of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] press bureau, have become regular. The first reports on the sharp rise in crime and the publication of the absolute figures for the crimes committed in the USSR caused a kind of shock. "Where is the militia looking and where are we going?!" was the leitmotif of the majority of letters to IZVESTIYA. As for the first question, to judge by V. Bakatin's speech, the militia is taking a sufficiently close look both at itself and at its activity and is trying to reorganize its service in accordance with the times and the hope that the movement toward a rule-of-law state will enable the militia itself to become mobile and react more swiftly to the transformation of the criminal world.

Now about the second question. We have to note again that, yes, crime is rising. In the first 6 months of this year, the internal affairs and prosecutor's office organs recorded 1,102,509 crimes, which is 267,650 more than in the same period last year. The percentage increase is also very "impressive"—32.1 percent. But I fear that the question "where are we going?" is somewhat dramatized. For instance, if we look (in absolute figures) at the number of serious crimes committed in 1985 and their "proportion" in the sum total of crime, the figures are as follows: 175,744 crimes or 17.8 percent of the total number of crimes. The figures today are respectively 169,575 crime and 15.4 percent.

Alas, street crime looks quite different: Here both the number of crimes and their rate of increase are very substantial. Compared with last year there has been an increase of 60,000 crimes or 84.3 percent. There has also been a marked increase in the number of crimes against property, but fewer crimes in the economic sphere have been committed. At any rate the figures (a decline of 2.6 percent) attest primarily to the fact that the actual approach of the militia toward crime of this kind has become stricter and has demanded the collection of more convincing proof.

Specific types of crime. How many murders or attempted murders were committed? The number is 10,161. But it is not only the specific figures that make us anxious. While formerly these crimes, perhaps the most terrible crimes, were committed on a domestic basis (put more simply "while drunk" during family disputes or during brawls in apartments) and were rapidly investigated by the militia—because they presented no particular difficulty—today the picture has changed. Increasingly frequently when a murder is recorded the words "mafia" and "organized crime" are uttered... There is already talk (and there are such instances) of hired killers. Understandably, the investigation of such cases requires a high degree of skill from the investigators and operational subdivisions of the militia.

Statistics again. There were 25,558 cases of premeditated serious injury recorded. There were 10,298 rapes (and attempted rapes). There were 9,155 robberies with violence. The public has recently been concerned about how

reports on shootouts are ceasing to be sensations and "spicy facts" and becoming almost humdrum events. Indeed, crimes involving the use of weapons are becoming almost the norm in the militia. Moreover, every year there is an increase in the number of militiamen killed—the figure was 263 last year. Several conclusions can be drawn from this. In my view the main ones are as follows: It is essential to improve the militia's professional standard, to make it capable of struggling against the now brazen section of professional criminals and to engage in ensuring the technical provision of all USSR MVD services, and, of course, to keep track of the distribution of weapons throughout the country in all directions. In this connection the following figure is not without interest: In the 6 months 400 cases of thefts of weapons and ammunition were recorded. But that is only the recorded number. The mass media have frequently reported that things are very bade with regard to storing weapons in the army. Moreover, our newspaper has written of cases of the sale of ammunition. And PRAVDA recently wrote about various kinds of exchanges of ammunition for scarcely any more than badges... We can only guess how the war in Afghanistan has swelled the criminals' arsenals...

About racketeering. In the first 5 months of this year, 1,849 cases of extortion of state, public, cooperative, and personal property were revealed. Some 1,057 people were made answerable for these crimes. For the first time we can give readers a few figures for gambling. In all in the first 5 months of this year 10,263 people were found to have engaged in crime of this kind. Of these 5,283 were card players, 3,844 were arrested for thimblerig, 316 for roulette, and 820 for other games. Various charges were leveled against 9,610 people. Against the background of the figures for murders or for rapes for instance you can smile—what cardsharpers! It's a provincial Monte Carlo! I would not be in a hurry to be sarcastic, because cases are known where the stakes at cards were tens and tens of thousands of rubles and when hundreds of thousands and human lives were lost in an evening.

Categories	First 6 Months of 1989	1988 Total	Growth Rates as Percentage of 1988
1. Crimes in all	168,262	350,790	108.5
2. Premeditated murders and attempted murders	556	941	69.2
3. Premeditated grievous bodily injuries	2,273	5,592	146.0
4. Rapes and attempted rapes	673	1,089	61.6
5. Robbery with violence (state and personal)	1,180	2,885	148.7
6. Robberies (state and personal)	11,125	26,914	141.9
7. Thefts of state or public property	28,278	58,952	108.5
8. Thefts of personal property	93,941	196,988	108.7

Information on unsolved crimes. Commentary on table. Included among undetected crimes are those the investigation into which (irrespective of when they were committed or recorded) was suspended for the first time this year because of failure to complete the search for or establish the identity of the culprits. This is the first time that these MVD figures have been made available to the press.

Report on Writers' Union Meeting on Solzhenitsyn
18001322 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Jul 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Decision to Expel A. Solzhenitsyn From USSR Writers' Union Repealed"]

[Text] A meeting of the secretariat of the board of the USSR Union of Writers chaired by the first secretary, V. Karpov, was devoted to returning the works of A.I. Solzhenitsyn to the homeland.

The secretariat of the board of the Union of Writers approved the initiative of the magazine NOVYY MIR and the publishing house Sovetskiy Pisatel which plan to publish the works of A.I. Solzhenitsyn this year and in the future. It also repealed the decision of the secretariat of the board of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Union of Writers of 5 November 1969, which expelled A.I. Solzhenitsyn from the USSR Union of Writers, because it was incorrect and contradicted the principles of socialist democracy. The secretariat also instructed writers who are people's deputies to raise before the USSR Supreme Soviet the question of rescinding the Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers (of 12 February 1974), according to which A.I. Solzhenitsyn was deprived of his Soviet citizenship and exiled from our country.

A report was heard from the secretary of the board, Yu. Verchenko, concerning the basic measures the union is to take during the second half of 1989.

Participating in the work of the secretariat were S. Baruzdin, A. Salynskiy, S. Mikhalkov, A. Voznesenskiy, Ye. Sidorov, V. Rozov, A. Adamovich, S. Zalygin, P. Nikolayev, V. Krupin, E. Safonov, R. Rozhdestvenskiy, L. Vasilyeva, F. Vidrashku, Ya. Peters, V. Sostrov, D. Urnov, V. Borisov, Yu. Surovtsev, V. Martinkus, Yu. Gribov, Ye. Isayev, and I. Stadnyuk. G. Baklanov, D. Granin, and A. Ivanov sent telegrams in support of the secretariat's decision

'Measure' Needed in Protests, Regime Responses

PM1207115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondent Valeriy Vyzhutovich dispatch under the rubric "Learning Democracy": "Measure to Secure Defendants' Appearance. Once Again About the Art of Creating Opponents"]

[Text] In the Criminal Code this is described as using unnecessary force. It occurs when, for instance, a threatening gesture from an importune drunk in the street is met with a response that is disproportionate to the threat, a brutal or even a lethal response. Cases of this kind are extremely complex; they are subject to a mass of legal subtleties and social and moral "pros" and "cons." One thing is unquestionable, however: Even in self-defense you have to know how far you can go.

And what about the code that regulates the settlement of conflicts between the people and the authorities without detriment to either of the sides? I am referring to spontaneous rallies, protest demonstrations, strikes, and other acts of civil disobedience that are part of our lives and to which we are no longer immune. Here, too, specific rules apply—written rules in the shape of the Decree "On the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations in the USSR," and unwritten rules, of which there are more, of course, in view of the shortage of legal regulators. Local authorities proceed as they see fit, interpreting each individual or mass outburst of passions according to their own devices. Bans, fines, and punishments abound.

After all, the authorities are there in order to resolutely avert any threat to public order should it arise. However, here, too, it is necessary to know how far to go. Let's get to the point: Today's or yesterday's notions about what can or cannot be tolerated serve to determine the limits of essential administrative (not to mention military) intervention in public life.

Let's talk about the limits.

IZVESTIYA reported earlier what happened in Kishinev 12 March: A rally attended by many thousands of people in the square in front of Government House burst its democratic banks and spilled over into dangerous anarchy. The mob, having gotten out of control, broke through militia cordons, stormed the Central Committee building, and insulted the government...

All this is incomprehensible and unjustifiable. Yet it is impossible not to ask yourself: Where did all this bitterness suddenly come from? Was it really only because the local authorities did not respond immediately with "Yes, Sir!" to demands for Moldavian to be given state language status and for Latin script to be introduced? No, the cause lies elsewhere—in a disinclination, based on fear, to communicate with the people in general: No mass meetings; anything might happen at a time like this... But the hour has struck! By banning the rally, the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] itself brought this hour nearer. Exceeding the limits of circumspection necessary in such circumstances, it turned tens of thousands of people into criminals demanding a direct and open dialogue. It made them bitter and put them up against itself.

The second act of this drama was staged sometime later, when 10 people were arrested, accused of organizing and taking part in mass disturbances. The measure chosen to secure their appearance during the preliminary investigation was an extreme one—detention under guard. I asked republic prosecutor N. Demidenko whether there had been any real need for this.

It was a forced measure, he replied. The situation is complex. I do not wish to predict, but I think it will deteriorate.

It is not difficult to understand the senior representative of the law enforcement authorities. His alarm and anxiety are not unfounded. No one is denying that violations of legality must be stamped out. But how? After all, it is perfectly obvious that not all those who were arrested can be classed as socially dangerous elements. Yuriy Ferar, one of the people under investigation, was asked directly: "If you were freed prior to the trial, could you guarantee to the investigating authorities that you would not engage in unlawful actions?" "Yes," he answered, "I am very sorry I attended the rally." "Why?" "I do not agree with the demands of some of its participants who put up anti-Russian slogans. During the time that I have spent here I have had time to think about many things. It has been a lesson..."

People willing to intercede for Yuriy Ferar, and others like him, came to the fore.

Tatyana Tsigzu, a vocational technical school student relates:

"To begin with, we wrote to everyone possible, collected signatures in support, and when nothing else remained we declared a hunger strike. We installed ourselves in the park, spread out our blankets and sleeping bags, cordoned off the site, and put up posters... We spent the nights right there in the park. People came to look at us. Some felt sorry for us and tried to persuade us to return home. Others mocked us, tossed sweets, buns, and bits of bread at us: Eat, beggars! Then Viktor Berlinskiy, Ion Mizha, and Anatoliy Plugaru from the mediation group arrived: Let's have a chat. In general, they pleaded for both—for the guys in prison and for us. Berlinskiy is a lawyer; he went to see the republic prosecutor and obtained permission to visit those who had been arrested. He got them to agree to release first one, then two of them. But we refused. Either all or none! As you

know, it turned out alright. Two deputies vouched for every person under investigation. The guys signed a paper pledging that they would not go away, and now they are all at liberty.

It is time to make two important points: First, I am not taking sides. Whether the defendants are guilty or not guilty must be decided by the court, and until a sentence is passed a journalist has no business here. And second, a hunger strike is not the best method of getting at the truth. However, in this case it was provoked: You take one measure, we take another. Measure for measure, and both of them extreme.

Meanwhile it would have been possible to avoid the reciprocal extremes by acting calmly and peacefully.

Why did not a single representative of the authorities who walked or drove past the park, which is located in the very center of the city, come and ask the young hunger strikers, some of whom were hardly more than children (they included two schoolgirls), the completely natural, normal human question: What's happening, kids? Why was it only on the third day, after insistent entreaties from the mediation group, that gorispolkom chairman V. Dobrya agreed, after all, to come and talk to the hunger strikers. Why was philosophical faculty student Vyacheslav Cheremush expelled from the university for sitting on a blanket in a park in summer for 5 days (another extreme measure for stifling civic sentiments)? And if another hunger strike is declared tomorrow, this time in defense of Cheremush, who will be punished for it: the mediation group which is trying to bring people together, reconcile them, and get them to the negotiating table, or those who, without thinking about the consequences, listen only to themselves? Themselves and no one else!

Do people in Moldavia understand the complexity of the situation? Are they aware of the danger of confrontation? The answer is yes. However, paying lip service to democracy, they are nonetheless in no hurry to pull down the old walls between the masses and the leadership. These walls, built here by Brezhnev, Shchelokov, Chernenko, and their faithful followers, look like dilapidated "architectural excesses" now.

The fact that the situation in Moldavia is complex is evident if only from the "Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers Appeal to the Population of the Republic" calling for calm, order, and common sense. However, too many mistakes have already been committed, too many outbursts have already been provoked by the inability to listen to others and by the high-handed style of leadership. "The flaws in the republic party organization's ideological work that are currently being discussed," S. Grossu, first secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, said at a recent Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, "are the result of both—the party cadres' lack of attention to this sector in general, as well as omissions on the part of specific senior officials."

This is why the Central Committee Bureau, having made a critical assessment of the work of N. Bondarchuk, Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee secretary for ideological questions, agreed to his transfer to other work. The chief of the republic Central Committee Ideological Department has also been replaced. New people have taken over the leadership of ideological work. However, events that took place shortly after the plenum have made people ask themselves: Has anything changed?

...MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE 17 May published an alternative draft law on the state language on the territory of the republic—the collective work of leading scientists from the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Law. The draft had been approved by I. Chobanu, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet. Nonetheless, next morning editor T. Tsopa was summoned to the Central Committee Bureau, where the material was deemed harmful and inopportune and the editor unceremoniously relieved of his duties.

When he arrived back at the editorial office, everyone already knew. So he bid his farewells...

The House of the Press was in a state of turmoil. Indignation spread from floor to floor, spilling out of the telephone. Within 2-3 hours there was only one topic of conversation at many of the republic's large-circulation and rayon newspaper offices.

By 4 o'clock in the afternoon writers, journal editors, USSR people's deputies, and even some inhabitants from nearby villages had arrived at the MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE editorial office. A rally was organized. While speeches were being made, someone rang up the Central Committee and I. Gutsu, the recently elected secretary for ideology, arrived posthaste. They told him that they would go on strike. And they warned that, unless the editor was reinstated in his post without delay, MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE would not appear next day. "I must consult," the Central Committee secretary said, and went back from where he had come. Some 2 hours later he returned: O.K., have your way: He will get a severe reprimand with endorsement; and now to work, Comrades! "No!" they replied. And he went off again to consult.

By that time the strikers had drawn up a precise program of action. A joint plenum of the creative unions to express collective indignation was scheduled for next morning. Journalists at the Moldavian and Russian editorial offices of television and radio declared their readiness to stop broadcasting. At republic enterprises there were calls here and there to join the strike...

It was nearly midnight when S. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, arrived at the editorial office and gave his word that the following day the Central Committee Bureau would annul its hasty decision.

The newspaper came out in the morning. It was signed by editor T. Tsopa.

This incident alone is probably sufficient to illustrate that any extreme measure to stifle political initiative, especially in a situation where passions are already running high, is like playing with matches. It is no longer enough today to describe as unpopular hasty decisions to which not enough thought has been given, decisions dictated by the same old stubborn unwillingness to listen to and respect another viewpoint: Such decisions are inflammatory. And in general, is not the desire to cut short any unsanctioned current of public thought an outdated vice? Just take a look at how many brilliant scientific minds—the intellectual flower of the fatherland—are ready to share and share with disinterested generosity their ideas with those senior party and soviet officials who feel a normal, healthy need for fresh, nontrivial thoughts and proposals and are ready to discuss, study, and test them in practice. On the other hand, what evidence of apparatus high-handedness is furnished by those who are apparently in no need of advice, whose head is so big that they barely manage to carry it. They have gotten used to having a monopoly of political thought, when only rivalry, only a free competition of ideas is capable of ensuring development and leading the country out of the impasse.

The representatives of the authorities in Moldavia clearly do not want to make any concessions whatever to the democratic movement. And if they make concessions, then only do so under pressure from circumstances they themselves have created through their intolerance, circumstances that can only be descibed as an emergency.

Why make a secret of it: I was summoned to Kishinev by events other than those described above. However, taking a closer look at the diverse—or so it would seem—issues, you realize their inner logical interconnection. The public conflicts that are currently rocking the republic have, just as in other parts of the country, one fundamental cause—the extreme dissatisfaction of the people with their lives—and against this backdrop interethnic contradictions are exacerbating and the credit of confidence is running out. These are the objective causes, but there is increasing evidence also of undercurrents of artificial tension and it is these, in particular, that we will discuss.

And so, once again, events that took place soon after the publication of the article "Postscript" (IZVESTIYA No. 111), written by the author of this article jointly with E. Kondratov, own correspondent in the Moldavian SSR, have brought me to Kishinev. Let me recall them—an uneasy situation in the republic, a seething of public passions, rallies, demonstrations, outbursts of extremism... Suddenly a leader emerges whom people trust: Anatoliy Fedorovich Plugaru, until recently a senior official of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, and subsequently deputy chief of the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Administration of Extradepartmental Security. According to public opinion, Plugaru "took up his position on the invisible pedestal onto which one can be hoisted only by the masses thirsting for understanding and from which, if one is to be toppled, one can be toppled again only by the masses." He assumed the role of the "spokesman of the crowd" in negotiations with representatives of the authorities. "Shame on the militia lieutenant colonel who engages in a dialogue with loudmouths and bawlers!" This was the motto of a party meeting held at the Moldavian MVD, and Plugaru was expelled from the CPSU.

We wrote: This is no way to treat a man who says and writes about things about which people invested with power prefer to remain silent, keeping a distance between themselves and the people. We wrote: In order to understand everyone, it is necessary at least to give them a hearing. And it is also necessary to speak to everyone.

We received many reactions to our article. The majority of readers expressed support for the newspaper's view and virtually every letter contained the question: What is happening to Plugaru?

Plugaru is looking for a job. His "dubious" activities were once again cut short by his collegues—and again using unnecessary force. He was sacked from the internal affairs organs for "being unsuitable for the post he occupied as a result of certification" (although no certification was carried out), and apart from a coat hanger in his wardrobe nothing links him with the militia uniform any more. And as for the honor of the uniform, you cannot hang that in a wardrobe. You cannot take it off today and put it on tomorrow. If you want to remain true to yourself, you have to wear it all the time. Not everyone can manage this. This is why we must return to the previous article.

We said goodbye to Plugaru back in April when he, just like his rival, having not been elected during the first round of the elections, was again nominated as candidate deputy. It would have been right and sensible at that moment, in our opinion, to draw a line, stop interfering, and let the voters decide for themselves; ultimately they know best.

The republican press acted quite differently, firing a well-aimed, devastating salvo. "What do you stand for, candidate deputy?": This was the title of a dispatch published in the republican newspaper MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE. The following day, translated into Russian, the same article appeared in VECHERNIY KISHINEV. I am disinclined to either discuss or assess it. The tone of the article itself is rather insulting, and the reasoning is of a standard that does not merit serious

discussion. But what must be briefly mentioned are the methods of struggle employed against an inconvenient opponent (incidentally, he lost his contest for the deputy mandate).

The dispatch was signed: I. Butnaru. "There is no such journalist in our editorial office," the editor of MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE said. "No one of that name works here," the editor of VECHERNIY KISHINEV assured us just as firmly. Well, no means no; after all, there is such a thing as editorial secrecy... Here both editors, pausing briefly, admitted: Secrecy, yes, but not editorial secrecy. The article was not written in the House of the Press where the local publishing houses are located, but somewhere else, not far away, from where it was delivered by express messenger with the categorical instruction: To be printed without delay!

The same high-handed approach is perceptible in a newspaper article under the headline "Comment Is Superfluous" (On the Subject of a Number of Articles about A. Plugaru)" which was printed in SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA and signed "ATEM correspondent" (ATEM stands for Moldavian Telegraph Agency). And finally, the "Open Letter from the Primary Party Organization of the Moldavian SSR MVD in Response to the article by Comrades V. Vyzhutovich and E. Kondratov entitled 'Postscript,'" which was published in IZVESTIYA. This document, sent by ATEM to three Moldavian newspapers, failed to appear: All three editorial offices refused to publish it. Subsequently the "Open Letter..." was sent to IZVESTIYA. Word for word. With a brief introduction: "The text of the letter was discussed in shop party organizations of the ministry's administrations and sections. Signed A. Chaykovskiy, party committee secretary, on the instructions of the party committee of the Moldavian SSR MVD."

Not a single detail was rebutted in the letter, but in spirit and tone it was a rebuttal, of course.

What can one say to this? Defending the honor of the uniform, especially the militia uniform, is necessary. It is regulation clothing, and as such it must not be stained. This goes for everyone, and especially a newspaper. You stain it with a devious phrase or, worse still, with a deliberate untruth and, as they used to say in the old days—honor must be satisfied! To wash off an inflicted insult by means of a reply in printed form is normal and noble in the highest degree. What is not normal is to assume the pose of the injured party when a newspaper "dares" to disagree with your stance. It is not noble when, instead of reasoned objections, you try to pin political lables on your opponents and supplant polemics with an irritated dressing-down.

About a month after the letter arrived at IZVESTIYA, Moldavian Minister of Internal Affairs V. Voronin telephoned the editorial office: Why have you not printed the letter? We explained: The letter is not an official reply signed by a leader, it merely reflects the opinion of the militia community in the shape of its party committee. "I am prepared to sign it," the minister said.

So it appears that in sending the letter to IZVESTIYA, the rebutters were pursuing a subtle if not all that clever plan. If the letter was published, satisfaction would have been obtained. And if not, it could be assumed that there had been no such letter, because without the signature of a leader it was no more than a reaction.

I was planning to bring all this up at the republic MVD. However, Minister V. Voronin declined to engage in a discussion. He condescended to receive me, but he did not hide his irritation: "There is nothing to discuss, all points are covered in the letter!" A. Chaykovskiy, the party secretary, reacted likewise. And so I had to sit down in front of a typewriter and get ready to conduct an interview by correspondence, as it were.

However, let us not degrade either our opponents or the reader, or ourselves by petty carping. The topic of our discussion is too important for that. Mocking the letter by taking it apart is also impermissible (although the authors ask for it at times) since the dispute in question is broader and more significant that an ordinary skirmish in print. Essentially it is a question of everything that is causing us such acute concern today. How can we stamp out irresponsible actions without exceeding the bounds of democracy? How can we avoid giving the floor to political firebrands while at the same time preserving respect for the right of everyone to have and to express his or her own opinion? Where does civilized disagreement end and barbaric conflict begin—conflict fraught with tragic consequences, as has been the case in the Fergana Valley and in Novyy Uzen recently? And finally, what is the difference between truly vigilant concern for maintaining social stability and commonplace hedging, which is also fraught with danger because it is capable of provoking intolerance in return, intolerance in its most extreme forms?

"Are he (Plugaru) and the journalists unaware that the extremist section of the democratic movement and the Mateyevich club are calling for unauthorized demonstrations and disturbances to be organized near government buildings, that they are inciting violations of legality and law and order?" With this rhetorical question the authors of the letter once again let it be known that they regard it as unbecoming for a militia lieutenant colonel to enter into conversation with a crowd, because you never know whom you might come into contact with... As if there had been no Congress of People's Deputies which confirmed most graphically that it is possible and necessary to engage in a constructive political dialogue with representatives of the most varied social groups, no matter what position they occupy.

A "rampaging mob": This is how Moldavian MVD officials refer to rally participants in their republic. Is this justified with regard to tens of thousands of people

whose objectives differ greatly and cannot be reduced to a "struggle against Russification" or to a desire "to destabilize the situation at any price and to seize power riding on the muddy wave of nationalism."

For the leaders of the Moldavian MVD Plugaru is a "spokesman of the crowd," and that alone makes him suspect. But who says that only an office, rather than the street—which for so many years "seemed to have lost its tongue" and has now, finally, found it—who says that this street, the seething square which is thirsting for open dialogue, should not be the work place of representatives of the authorities? Is it not at rallies where support, understanding, and fresh ideas can and must be sought?

It is difficult to share the protective zeal reflected in the letter, but it is possible to understand it. After all, who are its authors if not the guardians of order? Incidentally, everyone has his own conception of order. There was a Stalinist order, there was a Brezhnevite order, and now what? Now many people stand rooted in sincere, confused puzzlement in front of the new reality. Some people, it seems, continue to stand guard over the order of which we are all sick and into dismantling, into which we have already put so much effort.

Is it spontaneity that frightens them? But after all, spontaneity is not a forerunner of destruction. On the contrary, it is invested with great creative energy, with a new experience of life when it draws on the ideas of the reordering [pereustroystvo] of our society on the basis of genuinely socialist principles. Lenin has said: "It is unquestionable that the spontaneity of a movement is a sign of its depth in the masses, the soundness of its roots, and its ineradicability." Furthermore, spontaneity swamps not those who try to meet it halfway, but rather and more often those who are afraid of it and try to intimidate others.

This extreme suspicion, this readiness to rebut, is transmitted to rally participants and evokes an explosion of sentiments in response which, alas, are anything but fraternal. In view of this, is there any guarantee that the intolerance of opponents that is very unfortunately being displayed by representatives of the authorities not just in Moldavia, will not lead to the emergence of new leaders in the arena of political struggle, some of whom, as events have shown, are prone to extremism? And should this happen, who will bear the responsibility for it—the "spokesmen of the crowd," who are calling for dialogue, mutual restraint, and a quest for compromise, or certain local leaders who prefer to influence their audience not by the power of arguments but by the arguments of power?

It is not a question of democracy, glasnost, or a pluralism of opinions. These still represent virgin lands, undeveloped territory. It is a question of something very simple and accessible to everyone, it would seem: It is a question of common sense. Given the shortages of everything around us, can we not provide ourselves at least with this nonmaterial but extremely important social product which does not require any additional expenditure or capital investments for its expanded reproduction?

We have entered a completely new stage of relations between the people and the authorites. The people who "unanimously supported and endorsed" and "responded wholeheartedly" to any directive from the top do not exist any more. The cacophony of opinions, ideas, and attitudes is the political reality of today. Ignoring this means placing social dynamite under the foundations of restructuring, which have not yet reached the final and reliable degree of hardness and strength.

Meanwhile it is, of course, important and necessary to cut short disturbances, irresponsible incitement, fanning of nationalist passions, and other dangerous extremes. However, it is no less important to know how far to go. To know with absolute certainty the line beyond which stamping out total license ends and stamping out democracy begins, and avoid overstepping it.

Then the people will respond with respectful talk to respectful talk. They will respond with understanding to understanding, and with support to support.

Measure for measure.

Aircraft Bomb Hoaxer Gets 5 Years 'Hard Labor'

LD1407175889 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Dzhambul July 14 TASS—A 20-year old man played a joke on May 24 this year in the city of Dzhambul which will cost him five years of hard labour in a penitentiary and a considerable amount of money in fine.

V. Fan called the Dzhambul airport on the phone and claimed he had planted a remote-controlled bomb in a Tupolev-154 airplane that was to carry 160 passengers from Dzhambul to Moscow. The call was made straight after the plane took off. The plane returned to the runway immediately and the man who telephoned was identified and detained within two hours after the event.

The wrong-doer had already served a term in prison earlier and said he was perfectly aware of the possible effect of his call, but hoped he would not be found out.

It took several hours and the effort of dozens of people to locate the thug, to inspect the plane and make sure there was no danger, to call in a back-up plane and arrange the send-off. The immediate material losses alone amounted to 24,000 roubles.

Antinuclear Test Campaigners Meet in Semipalatinsk
LD1707083689 Moscow TASS in English 0749 GMT 17 Jul 89

[By TASS correspondents Raisa Ioffe and Aleksandr Vodolazov]

[Text] Alma-Ata July 17 TASS—Activists from the Kazakh Peace Committee, the Soviet Nevada Movement and the informal ekologiya (ecology) group opened a conference in Semipalatinsk today to discuss health-related problems linked to nuclear weapons testing at a site not far from that Kazakh city.

The Soviet Union has conducted nuclear tests in Kazakhstan since August 1949.

In the opinion of specialists, environmental contamination during underground explosions is ruled out. Nevertheless, an interdepartmental commission has come to the area for a month to study the ecological situation following public demands.

The Semipalatinsk conference is reviewing the results of this work conducted by a group of physicians and ecologists led by Anatoliy Tsyb, director of the Medical Radiology Institute.

Using up-to-date laboratories and other equipment, they analysed soil, air, water and seismological conditions in the Semipalatinsk region. The group's activities were widely publicised in the press.

"The Semipalatinsk testing range this year was silent from mid-February until July 8 when an underground blast was set off there for the first time in Soviet history in the presence of members of the public and reporters," well-known Soviet author Anuarbek Alimzhanov, chairman of the Kazakh Peace Committee, told TASS.

"After the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing in 1986, this was the second long silence at the test range, which gave a respite to the Kazakh steppe. This time the testing was suspended at the demand of social organisations, including the Nevada Movement," he said.

The movement has taken this name, Alimzhanov explained, to try and involve the American public in joint efforts to secure an end to nuclear testing and outlaw nuclear and chemical weapons.

First 'Accurate' Map of Moscow in 50 Years Issued
LD1007122389 Moscow TASS in English 1117 GMT 10 Jul 89

[By TASS correspondent Petr Lidin]

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS—An accurate map of Moscow, the first one in more than half a century, has been issued. Of course, many maps of the Soviet capital have been published over the period as a guide to the location of Moscow theatres, literary and musical landmarks, the historical and architectural monuments of Moscow.

There are also maps describing shopping and transportation networks of the city, but they all have one small defect—they are inaccurate.

The inaccuracy was not accidental. From the middle of the 1930s the maps of Moscow, just as those of other cities of the country, were deliberately distorted. This was one of [words indistinct] policy of secrecy, which quite often covered up lawlessness and arbitariness.

As a result, such maps ceased to perform their major function, namely, to be a guide to the streets and squares of cities for tourists and natives alike.

But all this is now changing. The new map of Moscow, prepared by the main board of geodesy and cartography on the strength of a topographic survey of the city territory, represents Moscow as it is in acutual fact, for the first time in half a century.

Moscow nowadays is the largest city of the Soviet Union. It has an area of more than one thousand square kilometres and a population of about nine million.

In Moscow, there are more than 3,100 avenues, squares, streets and lanes with an overall length of almost 3,900 kilometres. Every street of the city is shown on the new map and its name is listed in a supplement which is published as a separate booklet.

Of course, diagrams of Moscow have been known since the 16th century. The first of them was issued in 1549 in the book "Notes about Moscow" published in Vienna by Siegmund Gerberstein, a German diplomat and traveller.

This and many other diagrams of Moscow of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries were in point of fact only approximate sketches of the city territory.

Moscow's first [words indistinct] based on a geodetic survey was drawn up in 1739 by Russian architect Ivan Michurin.

3 Killed in Gorkiy Region Hurricane 16 Jul
LD1707080289 Moscow TASS in English 0800 GMT 17 Jul 89

[Text] Gorkiy July 17 TASS—A strong hurricane lashed the Gorkiy region (in the Russian Federation) last night. It was accompanied with torrential rain and hail.

Winds up to 24 metres per second broke trees and posts, threw roofs down and smashed windows. Crops were battered.

Three people died, hit by electric current, when an electric line was broken by the wind.

Economic

Finance Minister Pavlov Interviewed on Budget

PM1407084989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V. Pavlov, USSR minister of finance, by R. Lynev: "Budget for the Majority"; date and place of interview not stated; first three paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] A little over 3 years ago, in a talk with an IZVESTIYA correspondent, V.S. Pavlov, then USSR deputy minister of finance, described the difficulties which the Ministry of Finance was encountering in forming and, as specialists say, executing the USSR budget.

But here is the paradox: Since then restructuring has apparently not been standing still yet there has been an obvious increase in the difficulties associated with the budget's formation and execution. The majority of us can see some of these difficulties increasingly obviously in our purses and shopping bags. Another, compact, expression of these difficulties is being written about by the newspapers and mentioned from the rostrum of the country's Supreme Soviet: The state budget deficit, that is the excess of income over expenditure [as published], is today in excess of R100 billion.

And recently the USSR Supreme Soviet session appointed a new minister of finance for the country: the 52-year-old V.S. Pavlov. Yes, the selfsame former deputy minister who has recently held the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices. And so the country's new chief financial expert again gives an interview to IZVESTIYA.

[Lynev] In the Supreme Soviet, during the discussion of your candidacy for the post of minister of finance not only applause but also criticism, and very keen criticism at that, was leveled against you.

The following point is also curious: At last year's fall session of the Supreme Soviet—of the old composition—the present loss-making budget was adopted unanimously. But less than a year has elapsed and a sharp contrast has come about in the deputies' feelings: from extreme complacency to just as extreme concern. What is this about? Is it only about the new composition of our supreme organ of power?

[Pavlov] Not only that. I think that at that fall session neither the reasons nor the consequences of the budget deficit under our conditions were revealed to the deputies. It was merely cited, and many people failed to understand that it was not simply a case of a deficit but of a financial crisis. We have become so accustomed to everything being fine with our state budget. And at the same time we were utterly unused to seeing a connection between our personal budgets—our incomes and expenditures—and the state budget. Who indeed remembers that in buying, for instance, a packet of salt, he is paying the state an indirect tax—the duty included in the cost of the salt. Or that, when paying for a bus trip, he is receiving a subsidy from the state—the additional payment for the fact that city transport runs at a loss. The network of these ties with the state and its budget pervades the life of each one of us, each plant, region, and republic. That is why when I say that the state budget is one of the main instruments of our country's social and economic policy and that its consolidation is truly a nationwide matter these are not simply words but reality. And many people are sensing it today, with mounting disquiet for the situation which has taken shape and which is not improving. By virtue of my work in the State Committee on Prices at least I also bear responsibility for this. All this was reflected on the course of the discussion of my program.

[Lynev] In addition the State Committee on Prices which you headed is an unpopular department. The people call it the committee on increasing prices.

[Pavlov] While I worked there there was not a single direct increase in state retail prices. I remind you also that the employees of the State Committee on Prices are not some special caste but ordinary people for whom the rise in prices is not a boon but as much of a disaster as it is for everyone. And the price formation system existing in our country, which is essentially an expense-based system pushing prices toward an increase, was not created yesterday and not by them and it operates independently of them. I shall say more: All the efforts of the state organs of price formation, and unfortunately they are not many—just 1,500 people—are aimed against illegal price increases. But the forces are too uneven. And therefore I propose as an urgent measure introducing a kind of anti-inflationary tax. For each percentage of increase in average prices for output there should be a 0.5 percent reduction in the wages fund. And conversely the wages fund should be increased by 0.5 percent for every percent by which output becomes cheaper. This should prompt collectives to increase the volume and efficiency of production, to reduce prime cost, and not to hike prices.

[Lynev] As far as I have understood, this is a proposal from your program for normalizing finances. Tell me: Did you spend a long time preparing it? And how does it fundamentally differ from the program of your predecessor?

[Pavlov] Drawing up the program was a relatively quick matter, but it was preceded by years of debates, thinking, doubts, and accumulated experience. Here it is wrong to set it against my predecessor's program. He made in my view the first traditional step, made an attempt to rectify the situation which, naturally, can be done by reducing expenses. These expenses are well known: accumulation, social needs, the maintenance of the management apparatus, military expenditure, subsidies, aid to loss-making

spheres. What item can be reduced here? The first thought is defense. But this reduction will for the time being be only R9 billion, while according to my calculations R25-27 billion and R15-20 billion a year are required respectively to resolve pressing, urgent problems like aid for pensioners and children. Where is the money to be taken? Should we continue to make loans from the country's credit resources? But these resources have already been more than halved and therefore the steps which have been taken, albeit correct, make it possible at best to cover only the current deficit of R36 billion. Yet further expenses will obviously grow more rapidly than revenue.

[Lynev] Where are you placing the emphasis—in the most important features, of course?

[Pavlov] On increasing the yield from each ruble invested in all spheres. For that it is necessary primarily to develop the value, tax, and credit instruments for managing the economy in accordance with the principles of the economic reform. With the aid of these instruments we must open the way to new (for the rest of the world they are not that new) methods of financing and providing credits for the economy, managing structural and investment policy and revenue and accumulation, drawing funds into the budget, and we must organize their circulation not only vertically as at present (and that is how material and technical supplies are carried out in our country) but also horizontally—between enterprises and associations of enterprises and regions. That essentially means creating and taking hold of a financial market.

The program for financial normalization is closely linked with the forthcoming tax reform. Of the key principles of the future taxation system I shall, for the sake of brevity, name just one: The rates of tax on profits will be the same for all enterprises and organizations irrespective of their subordination and forms of ownership.

The program provides for a complex of measures to introduce the convertibility of our ruble. The economy's material-financial imbalance, the nonequivalence of exchange, the incomparability of our prices with world prices, the irrational structure of imports and exports low incentives to accumulation, and so forth should be overcome on this path.

[Lynev] But what about our state debt? It is over 330 billion—one-third of the GNP. How are we to pay it off? Within what deadlines?

[Pavlov] What has frequently let us down has been the citing of specific deadlines. Especially if they were cited with no consideration for the natural laws of financial cycles, which have a beginning and an end. As for the state debt, as the experience of many countries shows, it can be retained without slowing down the economy. It is theoretically impossible to indicate its permissible size. Experience shows that if it does not exceed half the GNP and if the current budget deficit does not exceed 2-3 percent of that indicator then the situation can be considered to be under control. If it is higher then that is a danger signal for the economy.

Today our debt and deficit are controlling us. And we must take them in hand and learn how to control them.

[Lynev] And nonetheless I am interested in the problem of expenditure. In saying above that their mechanical reduction produces little effect, in your program you suggest in fact ridding the budget of expenses on loss-making enterprises. How does that differ from mechanical reduction?

[Pavlov] The point is not the actual reduction of expenses but the alteration of their structure and of the forms and methods of financing; it is a case of priorities. Here is a series of figures for you: The yield per ruble invested in light industry is approximately R4, in the food industry it is about R3, while in heavy industry it is only 84 kopeks. But why are we so persistently ramming in funds where the return is minimal?

Or remember the simple principle that you have to pay for the end result. With regard to the investment complex, that should mean that the client either accumulates his own funds or takes a credit for construction and the contractor constructs a project using these credit funds and only when the project has been handed over as a turnkey one does the state budget pay its cost. The client shares with the contractor everything which has been saved. But today we pay everything from the state budget and we pay for the increase in uncompleted work, for excessive construction time, and for projects which have been commissioned but do not work. Where is economic accountability [khozraschet] in construction?

[Lynev] Recently there has been an increasingly active discussion of the problem of regional economic accountability and the republics' self financing. This problem also arose at the Congress of People's Deputies. And if you recall a speech you delivered 3 years ago, it is not a new one for you either. But here is the question: If territories begin to earn their own living, surely that will mean that the influence of the Ministry of Finance which you head will be considerably reduced. How do you treat that prospect?

[Pavlov] I see no reason to change my convictions. I am in favor of the speediest adoption of a law on the budget rights of the USSR, the union republics, and the local soviets. We have 35,000 settlement and rural soviets. These authorities are closest to people and their needs. But they are also the lowest authorities. They have no wages, no income base. How under these conditions can they be made the bulwark of an active social policy and how to interest them in strengthening the state budget?

Having given them the opportunity to create their own firm financial basis and receive an income, we will on the one hand relieve the center of a number of petty functions which are not natural to it and enable it to concentrate on the solution of the main problems, the big problems. On the other hand, in concerning themselves with their own local finances and strengthening them, the regions will also help to strengthen our common state budget.

[Lynev] All that is so. But not all republics and regions—and this was also stated at the Congress—have so far developed equally. In some places a distortion has taken place in the direction of the extracting sectors while in some other places processing is dominant. There are regions with a blatantly neglected ecology, with a backward social sphere, regions with a manpower surplus, and so forth. How are they to take part in equivalent exchange? Will they have earned sufficient money to live?

[Pavlov] Here we must remember the subvention method of financing, forgotten in our country but well known in the rest of the world. Its essence is financing from the state budget or from a special budget for the pool of a fund created for some regions or programs for which there the usual funds are obviously insufficient. A program to save the Volga basin or the Aral Sea could, for instance, be the subject of subvention. A feature of these investments is their targeted orientation; they must not be spent on anything else. Here I want to note in passing that the weakest aspect of virtually all our programs—scientific and technical and social—is the financial aspect. We initially proclaim goals and only then begin to seek funds to implement them, wrecking the attainment of other important aims. As a result there is a great deal of uncompleted work not only in construction but also in the most diverse spheres. One more result of this is the undermining of people's faith in the next programs, prospects, and undertakings. Funds must first be accumulated and only then should they be channeled somewhere and distributed.

[Lynev] Have you outlined measures on this score?

[Pavlov] Of course. I propose as an urgent measure right now, before the adoption of the law on pensions, that we start to make extra charges for the growth of enterprises' wages fund to be paid into the social security fund in accordance with recently elaborated norms. That will create the necessary accumulations—guarantees that pensions will be increased not through a rushed, arbitrary curtailment of financing for some other spheres. And in general as a financial expert I am against such arbitrary intervention in a financial plan which has been formed. For me the activation of work in the field of insurance, credit, and interest rates is far preferable.

[Lynev] If we are speaking of interest rates, a number of specialists believe that increasing the interest rate for investments in savings banks will help to attract a considerable proportion of working people's savings, will put them into the general turnover, and revive that turnover. Do you agree with that?

[Pavlov] The interest rate must not simply be increased, it must also be differentiated as much as possible. Thus, I agree that for fixed-period investments it should be increased, substantially. But on the other hand, in carrying out current and accounting operations and keeping records, the bank is offering services. Why should it pay again?

As for establishing or to be more precise restoring the population's faith in the state as a financial partner, as an immediate measure I would suggest returning in full the old debts under the loan which was once exacted virtually by force according to lists.

[Lynev] I cannot avoid a question which, judging by our mail, perturbs many IZVESTIYA readers. It was also discussed at the Congress of People's Deputies—the latest "construction site of the century" or to be more precise the projects for creating five complexes for processing by-product gas in Tyumen Oblast. As the country's main financial expert you will be unable to stand aloof from this problem. What is your position on it?

[Pavlov] I have not yet familiarized myself in detail with the experts' report. So I am prepared only to make strictly preliminary remarks. However attractive the project may be, the return from it in 2005 and later is, you will agree, quite far off. Especially given our financial situation. We must do the sums. Of course, it is no bad thing if, to the R1,140 billion which we need in the 13th 5-Year Plan for investments, our foreign partners add their own investments, rounding the total sum up to R1,200 billion, and thus help us to accelerate our development, reduce losses, and improve the ecology. There is food for thought. If, having received just R20 billion from them, we are obliged to pay for our own investments in addition and also to work for someone else, as has frequently happened—that is another matter.

[Lynev] What is your attitude toward the idea voiced at the Congress of People's Deputies by N.P. Smelev—taking one more foreign credit and using it to buy goods and food whose sale on the domestic market, producing a substantial profit, would help fill the coffers?

[Pavlov] There are of course specific arguments behind this proposal. But it must be discussed and amplified. I am also in favor of buying food. But not grain, which, after we have bought it, we "put into the cattle," but coffee and cocoa beans which after processing into chocolate can indeed—in contrast to caramels costing R1.5—give the budget a substantial revenue.

But, first, it is not that simple to find people willing to give a large loan without knowing how, with what, and when the client will pay it back. The debt crisis is nothing

new. Second, while today we pay our creditors something in the order of 9 percent of our foreign debt, increasing the foreign debt for pure consumption will give rise to a demand that not 9 but, for instance, 10 percent be paid back. Thus, if, as is suggested, we take an additional R16 billion, we will pay R1.6 billion a year in interest on the newly acquired credit in addition to the R340 million in interest on our present debt. That means that in the course of the 5-year plan of the R16 billion in new loans R9.7 billion will go on paying interest. We will be left with R6.3 billion in foreign currency rubles, which is equal to goods worth R25 billion, but who will pay the bills in the next 5-year plan: the R16 billion in debt and the R9.7 billion in interest? We must not forget experience in this field. It is next door to us, among our friends.

An increase in debt also has the adverse consequence that is the reduction of the freedom to maneuver, which is very important in extreme situations.

[Lynev] What in your view could impede the implementation of your program? What complications do you foresee?

[Pavlov] The main complication lies in people. The loss of true competence in their field by many people, mainly financial experts. Accounting skill, banking skill, the ability to see the movement of life and people's interests behind the rows of figures. All this is a classic case of what K. Marx called spoilage from nonuse.

There is also a difficulty in that in a number of cases the measures in my program will go against group interests and will of course not be welcomed by universal applause. After all, there is no point in denying that whole collectives and their councils are sometimes in favor of the state not daring to touch their funds, although these funds, even though they have been received, have often not been earned. It is also difficult to expect universal support for a measure I propose such as doubling the payment into the budget for manpower resources—from R300 to R600 for every enterprise employee. The point of the measure is clear: Since the labor of a manager is more complex that means it costs more. And since it costs more and the staff of managers cannot be inflated heedlessly, there must be a payment. But far from everyone is prepared to pay. I do not even mention the possible reaction to the closure of bankrupt enterprises.

But firmness is necessary in these matters. Because these measures are being outlined in the interests of the majority. And as a whole the state budget is a budget at the service of the majority of our citizens.

Without the restructuring of finances today it is impossible to reform the economy. Finances are not simply a reflection of the economy with all its plus and minus points but also a very important means of distribution's influence on the production sphere and on restructuring as a whole.

More, Smaller Enterprises Advocated

PM1407095589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by P. Myagkov, candidate of economic sciences, and N. Naumov, deputy chief of a department of the USSR State Planning Committee: "Dwarfs and Giants: Scale of Production and Areas of Inertia"]

[Text] Moscow—Since the stage of industrialization, our national economic sectors have been developed through the creation of giant enterprises. It was considered, and with full justification, that such plants and combines have indisputable advantages in organizing mass production. A stable list of goods, the utilization of huge stocks of raw materials, and partnership with a major wholesale consumer—all this created great potential for boosting output volumes. This industrial obesession with great size became established during long years of pursuing quantity and growth rates.

But as scientific and technical progress speeded up we began to be increasingly aware of the shortcomings of excessively large-scale production. Consumer interests demand a more frequent replacement of the product range (particularly in the production of goods for the population), a reduction in the size of batches of goods, speeding up of delivery times, constant improvement of technological processes, and more rapid assimilation of fundamentally new kinds of products. This demands a radical revision of the ideology of industrial development. However, investment policy today continues to be based on enlarging production by creating new large enterprises and enlarging existing plants and associations. Such an approach is beneficial to contractors and producers but runs counter to the interests of clients and consumers. The obsession with size condemns our industry to inefficiency, and monopolism entrenches the domination of producer over the consumer.

How are the defects of monopoly to be overcome, how is our industry to be made more flexible and receptive to market conditions and consumer needs? The remedy in theory is demonopolization. In practice this means developing small and medium-size enterprises in a preferential and purposeful way. What advantage do the "dwarfs" have over the "giants?" Maximum closeness to the consumer of the products, extensive use of the practice of combining trades, high technical standards of production that enable it to be rapidly reorganized to manufacture new products; lower relative capital-intensiveness, shorter construction and startup schedules; the use of contract prices for new goods which enjoy high consumer demand. These are the basic components making for the high efficiency of small enterprises, which is confirmed, incidentally, by the experience of the most developed industrial countries.

Let us take the United States, for example, where decentralization of production has led to typical structural changes. In the United States 97 percent of all enterprises are small organizations employing under 20 people. However, that is where 43 percent of the country's GNP is produced. In 20 years U.S. small enterprises have created 35 million new jobs. Over the same period large firms reduced the overall number of their employees by 6 million. By the beginning of the eighties 75 percent of the total value of U.S. machine building output was being manufactured in small runs of 500 or fewer examples, and some to individual orders. The proportion of mass-produced goods and those manufactured in large runs has been falling all the time. On average, compared with major companies employing more than 10,000 people, small companies introduce 17 times more innovations per dollar of expenditure.

In the opinion of American experts, more than 90 percent of new technological systems have to date been created by small companies or independent inventors. This process has been markedly intensifying as a trend in recent decades. At the same time it is essential to note that the efficiency of small firms on losing their independence in the event, say, of becoming administratively subordinated to a larger organization, is drastically reduced, labor productivity falls 20-30 percent, and overall economic effectiveness is halved on average.

In recent years the development of small enterprises in the CEMA countries of Europe has speeded up.

We are convinced that we possess similar potential. At present small enterprises in our country mostly serve as test beds for the setting up of new technological processes for new goods, which are subsequently transfered to mass production at large enterprises. This laboratory-cum-auxiliary role considerably restricts small enterprises' potential. In giving preference to the giants we are clearly underestimating the advantages of small plants and factories. Most of them in terms of their level of technical equipment represent a backward element in industrial production. In light industry, for example, the return at small production units is 3.9 percent lower and output per worker 5.6 percent less.

Why does it happen this way? The planning and economic incentive system is the same for large and small production units alike. But in practice it turns out that the smaller the enterprise the more visible the signs of its inferiority are. This is shown in the transfer of obsolete and sometimes even worn-out equipment from a main production unit to an auxiliary one. Material and technical resources are allocated to small enterprises last. The denial of economic autonomy to subsidiaries condemns them to suffer a social lag. These are the most characteristic traits of the dominating position of the giants and their suppression of any encroachments on their monopoly position.

This monopoly-nurtured group egoism brings consumers to their knees when contacts are concluded. A large-scale process of abandoning the production of cheap, unprofitable goods and items has started, prices are rampant, and inflation is progressing. How is monopoly and its technical sluggishness to be overcome? Some representatives of the government apparatus see the task as one of stepping up the activity of the state arbitration service, which obliges enterprises to conclude legally binding contracts to carry out unprofitable orders. But this is administration to excess!

Furthermore, it is proposed to bridge the gap existing between state enterprises and international requirements in the sphere of scientific and technical progress by means of cooperatives. This is more on target, since an attempt has been made to find an antidote to the monopolists. But all this is no solution to the problem if technological "monsters" consuming machine builders' basic raw material and diverting production capacities from the manufacture of sorely needed advanced equipment are created again. We think that an important role in demonopolization should be played by small, autonomous, well-equipped, specialized state enterprises which do not belong to any association and which are capable of fulfilling orders, including the production of components, and assimilating new technologies and new kinds of product.

It seems that small state enterprises which utilize the second form of economic accountability must be given the right to determine their work plan completely on their own, freeing them of any state order commitment. They could allocate economically accountable revenue as they see fit, without economic normatives being set by a superior organization, and determine independently the forms and system of labor remuneration without any limitation on the size of wages. You would then find them well-motivated partners to manufacture items in demand. These rights could, in accordance with Article 25 of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), be granted in the form of a particular application of this law by special resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers. Such an approach substantially coincides with the status of enterprises enjoying leasing relations. There is no need here to conclude a lease contract and introduce a leasing payment. In our view, it is essential to grant legal rights to the labor collectives of enterprises and their subunits and associations and their structural units to switch over independently to such management conditions.

The question of organizing an extensive network of small enterprises embracing all sectors of the national economy as an important means of combating monopolization and inflationary processes is now urgent and demands immediate solution. In 1987, by way of experiment, 30 or so small enterprises were set up within the (now reorganized) Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Light Industry system. The experiment was subsequently extended to enterprises of the

Estonian SSR State Committee for Construction and other sectors on the republic's territory. What have the results been? The manufacture of small, one-off batches in the light of consumer requests has became effective. The production of seasonal output is handled promptly and the rapid changeover of the range of goods assured. The indicators for the activity of small enterprises exceed the indicators envisaged on technical and economic grounds. The "Inorek" publicity organization exceeded its proposed amount of services in the first year by a factor of 3.5.

Yet, despite the indisputable advantages of small enterprises, the experiment has not to date been widely applied in our country. The notorious obsession with size remains the dominant ideology in investment and structural policy. Although the conviction is becoming ever stronger that until small enterprises take up alternative competitive positions in the economy, it will be impossible to curb the growth in prices.

Shortage of sets of equipment acts as a brake on small enterprises' development. A situation favorable to the solution of this problem has now been created. The process of converting defense sectors, which possess considerable production capacity and highly skilled specialists and sufficient material and technical resources, could be actively utilized to meet small enterprises' machinery and equipment needs.

Since June 1989 the experiment initiated in the Estonian SSR has been applied to the whole country by the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for the Improvement of the Economic Management Mechanism. However, this work will for the time being continue to be carried out as part of an experiment, whereas it should become a mass movement like the cooperative movement. It is essential, in our view, to draw up a special program to develop the small enterprise network.

What enterprise can be considered small? It is proposed that enterprises which can be constructed and commissioned within 18 months, recover capital investments within 24 months, and provide a high scientific and technical production standard be so categorized.

We hope that the adoption of a government resolution on the development of a network of small state enterprises will not be long in coming.

Agricultural

Late June Weather, Crops Status Reported

18240197A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Jul 89 p 1

[Article by T. Ivashneva, agrometeorologist: "Weather and Plantings"]

[Text] During the last 10 days of June the weather remained mainly hot over the European territory of the USSR.

In the Ukraine (except for the western oblasts), the southern part of the Central Chernozem zone, and Lower Povolzhye the kernels of the winter grain crops have reached the stage of waxy ripeness, and in the southern part of the territory—complete ripeness. Torrential rains have hampered the harvesting work. The grain continues to become plump throughout the rest of the European territory of the USSR. As before, the development of spring grain crops is 10-15 days ahead of the usual dates. In the Northern Caucasus, the southern half of the Ukraine, and Rostov Oblast the spring barley has reached waxy ripeness and in the south—complete ripeness. In places where there have been torrential rains there has been lodging of the grain crops, which made it difficult to harvest them.

In Moldavia, in the southern, central, and eastern oblasts of the Ukraine, in Krasnodar Kray, and in the south of Rostov Oblast the corn has formed 15-17 leaves (on the areas planted in early ripening strains and hybrids there has been panicles have tasseled). Potatoes are blossoming south of the line formed by Riga-Pskov-Bryansk-Moscow-Vladimir-Saratov. Conditions are good for the leaf formation and growth of the tubers of sugar beets. In the central chernozem oblasts and the beet growing oblasts of Povolzhye the hot weather has inhibited plant growth and during the daylight hours they have lost their turgor. In the south of the Ukraine, in the autonomous republics of the Northern Caucasus, and in places in Krasnodar and Stavropol krays the sunflowers have blossomed 1 or 2 weeks ahead of the many-year average.

In the Transcaucasian republics the high temperatures rose to 32-38 degrees. There was little precipitation. In the majority of regions of Azerbaijan blossoming of cotton plants was observed. The conditions for the growth and development of cotton and also the condition of the plants were good. In the western part of Georgia, the south of Armenia, and in Azerbaijan tomatoes have reached flesh-color and complete ripeness.

In the majority of farming regions of Western Siberia and the northern regions of Kazakhstan the weather has been warm. It has been cool in Eastern Siberia. Precipitation has fallen mainly for 1-3 days. The largest quantity of it (11-30 millimeters and in places more than 30 millimeters) occurred in Western Siberia, Kemerovo Oblast, and the majority of rayons of Altay Kray and Novosibirsk Oblast. Winter grain crops headed out and there was stalk extension. The condition of the plants is either good or satisfactory. Stalk growth has been observed in early spring grain crops and in Uralsk, Aktyubinsk, Semipalatinsk, and Vostochno-Kazakhstan oblasts they have headed out and blossomed. The hot and mainly dry weather observed during most of June in the western half of Kazakhstan and in Tyumen and Omsk oblasts was unfavorable for the growth and development of spring grain crops. The moisture supply for the plants in these regions was inadequate and therefore in certain regions the spring grain crops do not have nodose roots or side stems and the spikes that are

forming are small. The significant rains at the end of the 10-day period make the agrometeorological conditions for the growth and development of spring grain crops less strained.

The weather has been unstable in the Far East. The high temperature was 26-32 degrees. Rain has fallen for 2-6 days (in Amur Oblast—7 days). The largest quantity (50-100 millimeters and more) fell in Amur Oblast, in the western and parts of the southern rayons of Khabarovsk Kray and in the northeastern part of Maritime Kray. The spring grain crops have headed out and blossomed and stalk extension is complete in the more southern regions.

Hot weather has set in in the republics of Central Asia. The high temperature was 39-44 degrees. In the majority of oblasts there has been mass budding of the cotton plants, and in the southern rayons of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in the early plantings and in Turkmenia the blossoming has occurred at close to normal times. The hot and dry weather in the republics of Central Asia and Chimkent Oblast have inhibited the plants, especially on the fields with inadequate moisture. The condition of the planted areas is mainly satisfactory but in places in Syrdarya and Andizhan oblasts it is poor.

There has been mass harvesting of cucumbers and cabbage from the vegetable plantations. In the south of Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan the tomatoes have reached complete ripeness, and in the rest of the regions where they are cultivated—flesh-colored ripeness of the fruit.

Belorussia Weather, Crop Report
18240197B Minsk SELSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jun 89 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Weather and Plantings"]

[Text] Throughout the past week there has been rain and it has been hard in the majority of regions. After 8 June, beginning in the western regions, the weather became cooler. The cooling trend subsequently extended to a considerable portion of the territory of Belorussia. There was a great constrast in temperatures between the western and eastern parts of the republic. The high temperature in a number of regions did not exceed 11-16 degrees but in the east it reached 25-32 degrees. The nights remained warm with lows of 9-16 degrees. Throughout a large part of the territory 50-80 millimeters of precipitation have fallen during the past week. Torrential rains, with hail in places and accompanied by winds of up to 15-22 meters per second in some places, led to lodging of the winter and spring grain crops.

The weather conditions complicated the situation with the green harvest as well. It is bad enough that this year many farms are obtaining less feed from the harvested areas, but the mowing times are also being drawn out. Today it is necessary to maneuver technologies flexibly so as to prevent a deterioration of the quality of the forage. One must keep in mind that the mowing times are extremely significant right now. For the rain has improved the conditions for the sprouting of grasses and the means also for a second full mowing.

Supplies of productive moisture have been augmented everywhere for agricultural crops as well. The plumping of the grain of winter crops continues, and in places in Brest and Gomel oblasts it is 2-2.5 weeks earlier than usual; the stage of milky ripeness of winter rye has been observed 1-1.5 weeks earlier than last year. Over a large part of the territory the plumping of the grain is taking place with satisfactory agrometeorological conditions, but the previously observed low supplies of moisture, especially in the northeast, will lead to a reduction of the yield from winter crops this year.

Heading out has begun on areas planted in barley before 20 April. Later plantings are on the verge of this phase. Side shoots are forming on the potatoes and in places in the south blossom clusters have been observed in places. The stalks of flax continue to grow. On the areas planted in April blossom clusters have appeared and in some places the flax has begun to blossom. The plants are about 25-55 centimeters high.

The warm winter contributed to the survival of a large number of Colorado beetles. Only 10-15 percent of them died. Even now in the southern part of the republic the shoots are significantly infested with pests, and in certain regions they have begun to lay eggs. In this situation in Gomel and Brest oblasts the soil should be treated with insecticides selectively for Colorado beetle if there are 3-5 of them per plant.

The favorable conditions for the wintering of pests have created a threat of a higher level of infestation of the fields with them throughout the republic, but protective measures should be taken strictly taking expediency into account and observing the optimal times for applying the preparations.

In terms of the development of pulse crops, as of the last 10 days of May, only in the northern zone of the republic were areas planted in peas and winter vetch in pure form and in mixtures with grain crops in the phase of 3-5 leaves, at which time they can be effectively harrowed.

If prometrin has not been applied to peas and also if it is not effective enough, it is necessary to use herbicides for growing plants. It is best to use bazagran for this purpose on areas planted in pure pulse crops or pulse crops mixed with grain crops.

On the whole this year favorable conditions have been created for the plumping of the grain. It is expected that the grain crops will ripen earlier (1.5-2.5 weeks earlier than the average times over many years). Therefore even

in the near future on each farm one should concentrate efforts on preparing the harvesting equipment and the drying and storage facilities so as not to lose any of the harvest.

Uzbekistan Weather, Crop Report

18240197C Tashkent SELSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jun 89 p 1

[Report by L. Kanunnikova, agrometeorologist: "Weather and Plantings"]

[Text] The first 10 days of June, with the air temperature close to normal or 2 degrees higher, were favorable for the development of cotton. But the reduced moisture supply for the planted areas and the delay with irrigation contributed to continued retardation of the rates of growth and development of the cotton plants. During the 10-day period on the main areas there was development of the fifth leaf—1.5-2 weeks later than usual, and in certain regions 3 weeks later. The first-third leaves developed during this time on the replanted areas.

In Bukhara, Surkhandarya, and Kashkardarya oblasts and the Fergana valley buds began to form on the cotton plants 1.5-2 weeks later than usual. At the end of the 10-day period in the majority of oblasts the cotton was 9-13 centimeters high, and in Surkhandarya, Kashkadarya, and Tashkent oblasts it was 15-16 centimeters, which is 3-6 centimeters shorter than usual and shorter than it was last year.

The formation of the second crop is complete on the alfalfa fields; blossoming continued in the south of the republic; it began during the second 5 days in the central and eastern oblasts; and the formation of blossom clusters was observed in the north. In certain regions the second mowing has begun, and in the extreme south of the republic the sprouting of the third crop has started.

In the fruit crops the fruit continues to grow and ripen. Vegetable crops are ripening and being harvested.

The formation and plumping of the kernels are continuing in the grain spike crops, and they are ripening on irrigated areas.

The phase of the third leaf is being observed on the rice plantations.

On the pastures of the republic the shrubs continue to form buds and in places they have blossomed. In the mountain pastures the grasses and mixed ground cover continue to blossom and in places there has been mass aftergrowth.

In the next few days favorable weather conditions with sufficient moisture supply will provide for high rates of growth and development of cotton. There will be no restrictions on the grazing of livestock in the pastures.

Agricultural Developments for 9-13 Jul Reported

LD1507010589

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 9-13 July, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

9-10 July

No fileworthy items monitored.

11 July

The last combines are leaving the grain fields of Kashkadarinskaya oblast in Uzbekistan. Harvesting has been done under a tight timetable that has enabled grain losses to be reduced to a minimum. As of today, grain had been cut from an area of nearly 500,000 hectares throughout the republic. (0600)

Belgorod oblast farm workers began the mass harvesting of early grain crops today. Prolonged rainfall has made the situation much more difficult; 90 percent of the grain has flattened. The enforced postponement of the start of harvesting work has made it necessary to cut several crops at the same time: peas, barley, and winter wheat and rye. Harvesting and grain-drying equipment have to be used efficiently under these conditions. Contract labor organizations, including those working on a lease-contracting basis, are helping to carry out the work within the shortest possible time. (0600)

12 July

Krasnodar Kray—More than a million hectares of cereals have been harvested. This is approximately two-thirds of the area to be harvested. (0204)

Grain has been cut on 500,000 hectares in Kazakhstan. Mass grain harvesting is under way in Dzhambul and Alma-Ata oblasts, where extreme heat is making matters difficult. (0700)

13 July

Belorussia—2.7 million hectares have been sown to cereals on the farms of the republic. Harvesting is proceeding in most regions of the republic now. (0204)

Harvesting has begun in Belorussia, and in Gomel and Brest oblasts in particular. In many places, the grain is flattened and the crops have suffered from the drought. Nearly everywhere machinery has had to be re-equipped to get the harvest in. In Kursk oblast, machine operators are grumbling about the Don combines, which are few in number, anyway; one in three does not have a complete set of reapers, which is holding up work. Hay-making is under way in the Ukraine and Altay machine operators are out in the fodder fields. (1500)

The farmers of Turkmenistan have completed the harvest of winter ear crops. They sent more than 44,000 tonnes of high quality grain to state granaries. (1800)

In Turkemenistan, Chardzhou oblast has completed the harvesting of winter cereal crops. The rural workers of Chardzhou oblast have obtained 22 quintals per hectare. (2230)

Scientific

Testing on New K-32 Helicopter Finished

LD1707100389 Kaliningrad Maritime Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Summary] Testing of a ship-borne K-32 helicopter has finished. They will be used on ships of the Vitus Bering type. The new helicopter will be able to unload ships on coasts without ports and do ice survey work. It is more economic than the MI-18 and can carry cargo of up to 5 tonnes on a sling.

Military

Military Helicopter Crashes, 8 Killed

LD1407173989 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Kelbajar (Azerbaijan) July 14 TASS—A military transportation helicopter crashed today in this district centre in Azerbaijan's south west.

According to eyewitness accounts, when climbing, the helicopter caught on a high-volgate power transmission line, damaged its blades and crashed near a stadium.

Eight people were killed and two injured. Physicians who arrived at the scene of the crash gave first aid to the victims. Those injured were hospitalised.

A commission has been set up to investigate the cause of the crash.

Soviet Navy To Auction Ships as Scrap Metal

LD1607115989 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] The Soviet navy is going to open an auction of ships no longer used. Destroyers, cruisers, mine sweepers, patrol boats, and submarines will be offered to foreign companies as scrap metal. Before sale electronic gear, instruments, nonferrous and nonprecious metals, and, of course, arms, will be removed from the ships.

According to a Navy spokesman, Admiral (?Feodov), orders for deals are being cabled from dozens of countries, including Turkey, Austria, Germany, Sweden, and Spain.

Tanks Handed Over to Steel Mill for Scrapping

LD1507095689 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 15 Jul 89

[Text] Yenakiyevo (Donetsk Region) July 15 TASS—By TASS Correspondent A. Gordeyev:

Tanks have been moved into the territory of the Yenakiyevo steel mill exclusively for peaceful purposes. Once formidable tanks were used as scrap for the first time in steel making at the mill's converter shop today.

Fifty T-10 heavy tanks, which yet until recently were with one of the military units, were handed over to the metallurgical plant by the Kiev military district command. The tank metal will be remelted to be used in the manufacture of reinforced concrete structures for the construction of dwelling houses, kindergartens, hospitals and shops.

"Such an assignment was particularly honorable to our personnel", said the director of the plant Yu. Borisov. "The workers take pride in the fact that they were entrusted in practice to make their contribution to disarmament. These tanks are only the beginning. The military men intend to hand over 300 such tanks to our enterprise for remelting."

Reservists Discuss Nuclear Submarine Safety

LD1507043189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1905 GMT 14 Jul 89

[From the "View" program, including recorded comments by three naval reservists on previous submarine accident by unidentified interviewer, and interview with three naval officers by unidentified presenter; dates, places of reservists' comments, interview not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted: videotape replay of 8 April 1989 "Vremya" newscast report on sinking of the nuclear submarine 'Komsomolets']

[Unidentified program presenter] the tragedy of the atomic submarine 'Komsomolets' was a shock for our society. Within 2 months, however, another accident took place. This time, we got by without loss of life. Unfortunately, the leaders of the Navy have not displayed openness and honesty about what happened. We return, once more, to 3 months ago.

[Begin recording] [G.M. Melkov, captain first rank, reserve] Evidently, it was impossible to save the submarine itself, but the people who got out of it and found themselves in the water could have been saved. The High Command was unable to evaluate the situation clearly and take the proper action. That is my opinion, as a former submarine commander.

The mechanism for saving people was not put into operation. The submarine commander could have put it into operation himself, but because there are misanthropic, and I would say, even inhuman instructions in the Navy, the commander is deprived of the right to make decisions independently, proceeding from the emergency situation that has arisen. He does not have the right to bring into operation that international mechanism for rescue and to give the SOS signal. However, that signal could have been given by Admiral Gromov, the commander of the Northern Fleet, but he did not give that signal either—I mean permission for the signal. The commander in chief could have given the signal, or given the right to sent the signal to bring the rescue mechanism into operation. That was not done, either.

I consider that what we are dealing with here is criminal disregard for the international rescue mechanism. There is no justification for such a situation, nor can there be any because the price is the death of people who can be said to have been reborn already by virtue of the fact that they escaped the accident-stricken submarine. One cannot say that our emergency and rescue service is combat-ready, prepared for the immediate rescue of people and to afford them assistance. The resuce rafts that were dropped sank some 300 meters away without opening. In this instance, there exists a document, an agreement, between the USSR and Norway on rescuing people. That document is effectively empty paper for now.

[A.N. Gorbachev, captain first rank, reserve] To a certain degree, hope was placed on the submarine's rescue chamber. It is unique and is capable of rescuing the crew from a depth of 1 kilometre, but unfortunately, that chamber proved to be technically unready, untested, and was unable to save the crew, even from a surface position.

[I.B. Kolton, captain first rank, reserve] When the state testing of the 'Komsomolets' was planned back in 1983, I participated in examining the state testing programs. I did not find in them testing of the servicemen. If a decision had been made to conduct the testing as it should have been done, a number of design faults would have been discovered. The main faults are that it transpires that at a great depth, when the pressure hull is compressed, all the entry hatches, or one can call them exit hatches—and they include the chambers of the servicemen—are jammed. If the crew tried to enter the rescue chamber at that depth, they would have been unable to do so. In effect, in such a situation, the crew is trapped, immured in that hull. Today, our craft, our submarines are sailing without hope of rescue. That is inhuman and cruel.

[A.N. Gorbachev] Ask 100 atomic submarine commanders and they will tell you that everything is as might have been expected because the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry is charged with—and how can it be charged with?—resolving these sore points, which—and I fully agree with Ilya Borisovich—have afflicted the Navy as far as that is possible. Quite recently, Comrade Belousov was leader of the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry, that is, he was the leader when the third generation of atomic submarines was underway. We have received nothing from this third generation; it has turned out the same as the second. Everything is poor: The acoustics are poor, the computer is poor, that is, without mentioning the noise level. The noise level created by our submarines is 12 times greater than that of U.S. submarines. That bears witness to our atomic submarines having been turned into something absurd. We have craft that are not combat-ready and are not prepared to protect the interests of our fatherland.

The West has a completely different standard of navy, a navy that corresponds to contemporary standards. We have a navy that corresponds to the standards of 20 years ago. Thousands of officers have been protesting against this state of the Navy for at least 3 decades. That is, at least, all the officers with honor. It means that we are not being heeded. [end recording]

[Presenter] The questions raised in that item are sufficiently acute and concern the destinies of very many people who serve in the Navy. We have some studio guests; they are: Vice Admiral (Vladimir Konstantinovich Zakharin) and Captain First Rank (Valeriy Yuliyevich Moisenko). Here also is (Boris Yunisov) reporter for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the person who for the first time ever wrote—first in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and then in OGONEK—articles that attempted to analyze the situation surrounding the 'Komsomolets' accident. So I hand over to you [indicates (Zakharin)] because I know you expressed a desire to speak about that item.

[(Zakharin)] All of us, and all the viewers—from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean and from the Barents Sea to the Black Sea—have watched that program. I do not share the views of the comrades who just spoke. This is why. Of course, I could say many things here, but I would like to emphasize two fundamental points: The first point concerns the Navy having displayed a lack of openness and honesty. That is a most grave statement, which bears great reponsibility. The Navy consists of privates and sergeants, officers and admirals. I can say quite definitely that the crew of the submarine, the officers of the Northern Fleet, and the Navy Command have displayed both openness and honesty. The crew of the submarine 'Komsomolets,' risking their lives, took the log book out of the submarine and conveyed it to the command. Anyone who knows what a logbook is knows that there is nothing more honorable than a logbook.

[Presenter] Tell me, how many hours had the submarine 'Komsomolets' been afloat?

[(Zakharin)] About 4 hours—from 1200 to 1700—so 4-5 hours.

[Presenter] As far as I know, it was 7 hours, but that is not important.

[(Zakharin)] Well, that is not...

[Presenter, interrupting] How much time was needed to come to the rescue while it was still afloat?

[(Zakharin)] The [word indistinct] submarine tender took about 5 hours, some 4 and ½ to 5 hours.

[Presenter] Four and one-half hours? That is right? But the facts say something slightly different because the Norwegians could have been there first, after 4 and ½ hours. Why did the submarine sink and why were people killed? Why did the rafts that were dropped sink some 300 meters away from the submarine?

[(Zakharin)] The commission will investigate that and give an opinion, so I do not now want to assess those facts beforehand. I can say only one thing, and that is: According to the estimates made both by our comrades and by those abroad, the Norwegians could not come to the rescue. That is the first fundamental fact. It is confirmed by estimates and anyone who wants to do so can see it easily for himself. We have not made any secret of this.

[Presenter] Tell me, does there really exist an order forbidding the commanders of military vessels from sending an SOS in the event of an accident?

[(Zakharin)] As a specialist in this matter, who is involved with this matter among others, I want to state quite definitely that the commanders of all vessels, including submarines, are allowed, under our standing instructions and orders of Naval Command, to send an SOS signal in open text on international frequencies if the signal does not get through military communication channels. This means that such permission is given, in principle. The submarine commander determines whether or not such a signal needs to be given.

[Presenter] Is this why first the Northern Fleet military command and then the High Command were asked and they did not give permission to issue an SOS? After all, there was no SOS.

[(Zakharin)] I want to stress once more that the submarine commander makes the decision on sending an SOS. The instructions state that the commander of a submarine or surface ship, if he does not have contact via military communication channels and if there is a threat to the vessel, submarine, or its crew, has the right to and issues an SOS signal.

[(Yunisov)] That means you think that there was no threat? After all, there was, in principle, a conversation from about 1200 that the submarine was undergoing an accident.

[(Zakharin)] There was, of course, a threat to the vessel, but the captain, the man directly in command, evaluated it in a different way.

[(Yunisov)] Do you think that it was no threat? The point is that on the submarine...[changes thought] Do you know about the fire that took place on board?

[(Zakharin)] I know, but not every fire ends in tragedy.

[(Yunisov)] It was not matches that were burning, but the seventh section. You know for yourself what sort of section that is.

[(Zakharin)] Yes, I know that. I was a submarine commander.

[(Yunisov)] What do you think? Could comrade Chernavin, the commander in chief of the Navy, or the commander in chief of the Northern Fleet personally give such an order?

[(Zakharin)] Of course he could! But there was no need because we, I mean the command post of the Navy, knew within ½ to 1 hour the entire situation in the area of the submarine. We knew that there was no military vessel and no foreign—I mean Norwegian—ship. As for our forces and ships, we knew about this situation and immediately began to move—in literally ½ hour—ships of the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet into the area of the submarine accident. Morevoer, aircraft were sent to the area of the accident and there was constant commnication with the naval command. So there was no need—in my opinion anyway—to issue an SOS in this situation.

[Presenter] You are now defending the uniform. That is understood, but people died. Do you not bear responsibility? Do you not consider your department responsible for people dying? Did you do everything possible to have them rescued?

[(Zakharin)] Yes, I consider that we did evetything possible to rescue the people.

[Presenter] If an SOS signal had been issued immediately after the accident, would the people have been rescued?

[(Zakharin)] No.

[Presenter)] The international signal, I mean.

[(Zakharin)] Of course. No, they would not have been rescued.

[Presenter)] Even the Norwegians would not have had time?

[(Zakharin)] They would not have made it; I can tell you that quite definitely.

[(Yunisov)] We have here a person who is an international lawyer, a person who sailed on submarines for more than 20 years—Comrade Melkov—and he has a different view. I think that...

[(Zakharin), interrupting] And how could he come to think differently if he does not know the instruction documents that have existed since 1984? Is it premeditated? Or is he just an incompetent person when he speaks that way?

[Presenter] Excuse me, but the captains who spoke conducted an expert poll among 46 submarine commanders...

[(Yunisov), interrupting] No, 47.

[Presenter, continuing] And 46 of them favored cancellation of the murderous decree whereby they have no right to send an SOS immediately.

[(Zakharin)] You know, that does not conform to reality and it can be checked right now, if you wish.

[Presenter] All right, we will check it, and I think the commission will establish all the facts connected with the accident, but the issue is much broader.

[(Zakharin)] Of course.

[Presenter)] The point is the sitation in the Navy in general, the condition in which vessels are currently sailing, and the safety of the crews. What do you think about this? You have been somewhat silent. [turns to Moisenko] Clearly, subordination is stopping you.

[(Moisenko)] I heard what comrades Kolton, Gorbachev and Melkov had to say. I know two of them well from joint service in the Main Staff of the Navy.

[Presenter] Excuse me, but have you yourself sailed on submarines?

[(Moisenko)] Yes, I am a submarine officer.

[Presenter] On what submarines have you sailed?

[(Moisenko)] I have sailed on atomic submarines, including missile submarines, in the Atlantic Ocean and the Arctic. I have been in many regions. I have to say that the level of training of the crews and the technical equipment of the vessels sufficiently guarantees their dependable use in the various regions of the ocean. Our submarines accomplish hundreds of trips and it is only in a handful of cases that such tragic accidents take place like what happened aboard the submarine 'Komsomolets.'

[Presenter] How many atomic submarines have perished in the past 10 years?

[(Zakharin)] We know there have been three such instances.

[Presenter] One of which sank [word indistinct]

[(Zakharin)] That is another matter.

[(Yunisov)] But is is the same one.

[(Moisenko)] Not quite.

[(Zakharin)] If we are talking of [word indistinct], it exists and is now a real submarine. There were different circumstances there. You are asking how many have persished? I tell you three.

[Presenter] There was that latest accident, what do you think? Is this not too many accidents for this sort of vessel?

[(Zakharin)] We naturally want there to not be any.

[Presenter] Which department is to blame for accidents? Is the technical condition or the quality control poor? Or are there design faults?

[(Zakharin)] There are different reasons in different cases. In many cases, the equipment fails. That is in many cases. Sometimes there are mistakes by the crew. This happens in certain force-majeure circumstances, when conditions or circumstances are formed which were not and could not be envisaged when the ship's hull was laid and it was built.

[Presenter] In any event, I thank you for coming on the program because 'View' is an arena for pluralism and we have on several occasions backed that. I also thank you for the fact that the Ministry of Defense has at last become more open, and for you coming on the program so that we could discuss these problems from different viewpoints. Nevertheless, I hold a somewhat different opinion from yours and continue to hold that the people could have been rescued and that the facts show this, but the commission will find the answers.

Forces 'Confident' About Replacing Students

PM1307152389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jul 89 First Edition p 1

[Article by Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff: "From the Ranks to the Lecture Theaters"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] At KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's request Col General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, comments on the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the release of certain categories of draftees from active military service:

"The question of early release from the ranks of the Soviet Army for servicemen drafted to active military service from student institutions—that is, day (full-time) higher educational establishments [VUZ]—has been raised recently at various levels, including the highest level. Weighing up the opportunities for troop staffing and bearing in mind the political aspects of the Armed

Forces cuts, the Defense Ministry considered it necessary to carry out such releases and put a corresponding proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet. A decision has now been adopted. Around 176,000 former students will be discharged into the reserve in August-September. As a rule, these will be experienced military specialists, sergeants, and petty officers. They have reliably assisted officers in training and educating the personnel.

"It must be said that the early discharge of this category of servicemen will present the Armed Forces with a number of problems in terms of maintaining combat readiness. It will be difficult to train suitable replacements for those discharged in just 1 or 2 months. Particularly in units on combat standby and equipped with complex military hardware. But we are confident that the utmost effort will be made locally to train corresponding specialists as quickly as possible.

"All those discharged will be credited with having served a full term of active military service. During their future studies at VUZ's the discharged servicemen will be obliged to take a training course in military faculties—where such faculties exist—to obtain the rank of officer of the reserve.

"We hope that the enlisted men, sergeants, and petty officers who are discharged after having had a good schooling in Army mutual assistance, tempering, and steadfastness will successfully resume their studies at higher schools and later work fruitfully for the good of society and restructuring."

Commander Holds Conference on Pacific Exercise

PM1407154589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Captain 2d Rank V. Dyubkin report: "Confidence-Building Act"]

[Text] Pacific Fleet—On the eve of the deployment of the forces participating in the Pacific Fleet exercise, a press conference in which Fleet Commander in Chief Admiral G. Khvatov participated was held for foreign military observers and journalists. He informed those present about the plan of the exercise and answered the questions of journalists and foreign observers.

Robert Karniol (Thailand): I know that there are aircraft carriers in the Soviet Navy. If they were used in the present exercise, would the tactics change?

[Khvatov] You must not confuse the two aircraft-carrying ships which our fleet does indeed have with aircraft carriers. They are also meant to fulfill defensive tasks.

Akiro Komoto (Japan): Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has announced a reduction in the USSR Armed Forces and, in accordance with this, the structure of the fleet is being reorganized to make it more defensive. How does this circumstance affect the life of the fleet?

[Khvatov] Ships of a defensive type—antisubmarine warfare ships and minesweepers—already predominate in the fleet.

CSSR Television: Can you you tell us how many exercises the Pacific Fleet holds per year?

[Khvatov] We hold three or four exercises a year in areas adjacent to the coasts of Kamchatka and Maritime Kray.

NHK TV (Japan): How do you plan to repulse attacks employing conventional weapons, for example, "Tomahawk" missiles?

[Khvatov] In order to repulse attacks by "Tomahawks" we rehearse operations similar to those used to repulse air attacks, that is, by means of missiles, artillery, and interceptor aircraft.